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ABSTRACT

This book is both a personal memoir of the author and a history of adult education in Western Canada during the first half of the twentieth century. The memoirs cover Robert England's three years as a teacher of Slawa Rural School (1920-23) in northern Saskatchewan; his cooperation with the Masonic Memorial Scholarship Scheme for fifty teachers in rural non-English-speaking districts (1921-24); his work as Continental Superintendent, Colonization Department, C.N.R. Europe (1924-49); as Western Manager, Colonization-Agriculture, C.N.R. Western Region (1930-36) and the Community Progress Competitions project; adult education activities continued as first Director of Extension, The University of British Columbia (1936-37), and as first Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services Overseas in 1940; followed by his account of re-establishment in civil life of World War II veterans when he was executive secretary of the Interdepartmental General Advisory Committee on Rehabilitation and Demobilization (1940-43); and his chairmanship of the Committee on University Requirements (1945-46). He deals with his reorganization of the Nationalities Branch into the Citizenship Division in 1944 and the plan for Canadian Citizenship Act. The author profiles his friends and collaborators. The author's curriculum vitae, a bibliography, and an index are included. (KC)

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LIVING
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REMEMBERING

Memoirs of
Robert England

Centre for Continuing Education, U.B.C.
Vancouver, 1980

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LIVING
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Memoirs of Robert England

These memoirs cover Robert England's three years as a teacher of Slawa Rural School (1920-3) in northern Saskatchewan, his co-operation with the Masonic Memorial Scholarship Scheme for fifty teachers in rural non-English-speaking districts (1921-4); his work as Continental Superintendent, Colonization Department, C.N.R. Europe (1924-9); as Western Manager, Colonization-Agriculture, C.N.R. Western Region (1930-6) and the Community Progress Competitions project; adult education activities continued as first Director of Extension, The University of British Columbia (1936-7) and as first Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services Overseas in 1940; followed by his account of the planning under the Canadian government for re-establishment in civil life of World War II veterans as Executive Secretary of the Interdepartmental General Advisory Committee on Rehabilitation and Demobilization (1940-3); and his Chairmanship of the Committee on University Requirements (1945-6). He deals with his reorganization of the Nationalities Branch into the Citizenship Division in 1944 and the plan for Canadian Citizenship Act.

There are profiles of his friends and collaborators: Principal R.C. Wallace, President Walter Murray, Dr. Leonard Brockington, Dr. William J. Rose, Abbot Severin Gerkkin, Dr. Frank Hoffman, Premier J.T.M. Anderson, and the Honourable George M. Weir. Any history or study of education, particularly adult education in Western Canada in the first half of this century, is incomplete without recognition of the impact of these distinguished scholars on the philosophy and outlook of continuing learning in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. The author shared their concern for the non-English-speaking European settlers in Western Canada, and enjoyed working with them in the various projects described.

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To
THELMA
Friend of half a century,
cheerful spouse, and
unfailing partner,
bringing to me, in age,
corroboration, reassurance,
and happiness.

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PREFACE

At the suggestion of and with the encouragement and co-operation of Mr. Gordon Selman, former Director of Extension, The University of British Columbia, I have attempted to record on tape some memories of adult education.

It's a new experience to dispense with the whole apparatus of references, footnotes, drafts, redrafts, typing, careful syntax, and chronology and talk without anxious scrutiny of the faces of listeners to detect boredom. In *The Sword and the Stone,* the source-book of *Camelot,* the well-known screen play, T.H. White has Merlin give this advice: "The best thing for being sad is to learn something. This is the only thing that never fails. You may grow old and trembling in your anatomies. You may lie awake at night listening to the disorder of your veins. You may miss your only love. You may see the world about you devastated by evil lunatics, or know your honour trampled in the sewer of baser minds. There is only one answer for it then — to learn." So in my old age I welcome this opportunity to remember and to record.

As an Ulster lad, I lived in a community little changed in the past century: small farms, cottage industry, horse and donkey tracks, potato patches, relatively new linen factories, but limited educational facilities, and scholarship only for the elect. As a young man I lived in rural Saskatchewan and read omnivorously a library of volumes on rural sociology and rural school methodology and shared the missionary zeal of those early educationalists working in a new world on a frontier. But nowadays all that has disappeared. Learning is a human right. Educational opportunity has become a watchword for democracy. The astounding growth of our educational and research institutions provides an amazing contrast with the world I knew. The old concepts of priestly privilege in scholarship, of an élite, and even the evangelism of past educationalists have disappeared in the modern communicative and permissive society in which words like academic, ivory tower, and intelligentsia have a pejorative flavour. Learning is still a very personal matter. We may discard the religious overtones even among the rationalists of past pedagogies, and yet recall that learning is like a sacrament of penance; it involves recognition of personal ignorance or incapacity or inadequacy, the will to accept a new idea or even look foolish while learning a new skill, frankness to abandon a cherished scheme of values, before achievement of a new outlook, attitude, and world. It is now more appropriate to say all that in sophisticated psychological and psychoanalytical language, but with Merlin, the psychotherapist of mental ills, the answer still remains to learn.

In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* there is a dialogue between Old Honest and Great-Heart in which Honest replies to Great-Heart's query about his name and origin. Honest replies, "My name I cannot, but I came from the town of *Stupidity*. It lies about four degrees beyond the city of *Destruction*." Among other things, Great-Heart replies, "I have often wondered that any should come from your place for your town is worse than the city of *Destruction* itself." Honest says, "Yes, we lie more off from the sun, and so are more cold and senseless; but was a man in a Mountain of Ice, yet if the Sun of Righteousness will arise upon him, his frozen heart shall feel a thaw . . ."

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APPRENTICESHIP

I was born on September 15, 1894, thirteenth of the fourteen children of David and Elizabeth England, in Portadown, now part of the city of Craigavon in Northern Ireland. Each of my parents was born in 1851. Both lived in the neighbouring parish of Knocknamuckly in the church of which they were married at twenty-one and in the churchyard of which they are buried, with those of their sons and daughters who never deserted the district or the devout Methodist faith and piety of their parents. Three sons emigrated to North America — David, Nicholas, and Robert, the author of this account, and the sole survivor of that large family.

David tried New England and Canada but opted finally for the home town, where he was an acceptable Methodist lay preacher, a respected Justice of the Peace, and a prominent Mason and Orangeman. He is buried in Seagoe in the next parish with his wife and a son, the Reverend Robert England, my namesake and nephew. Nicholas rejected the family Methodist upbringing and training, loved adventure and horses, and for a time as a heavy drinker he became a family problem. He made several trips to Canada, and served in the British Army in the Royal Irish Fusiliers for three years. He returned to Canada while he was a reservist, married, had a family, and managed a farm in northern Ontario. Eventually, he served as a sergeant in the 58th Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in World War I and was killed in France in August 1918. His name is in the Book of Remembrance, Memorial Chamber, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

The old rhyme ran "Ulster for a soldier, Connaught for a thief, Munster for learning, and Leinster for beef." Certainly the names of Alexander, Montgomery, Allanbrook, Dill, Gough, and Wilson confirm the old legend. In any case, past tradition, my conversations and friendship with my brother Nick, the training of the Boys' Brigade, the stories of South African veterans, and an old soldier called Scott who used to drill us regularly helped me to understand something of military life, and make it more tolerable, when I came to it in World War I. My father had been a smallholder, a hand-loom weaver and a scutch mill operator, but as his family grew, he moved into what was then a town of about 6,000. He was a remarkable man, so saturated with the language of the Bible and with such an encyclopedic knowledge of scriptural texts that his public utterance showed scarcely a trace of grammatical error; syntax and structure were determined

by the stringing together of an extraordinary matching of scriptural texts. His well-used books were Cruden's *Concordance*, Matthew Henry's *Commentary*, and sermons by Scottish divines such as Bonar and Charles Hadden Spurgeon. And, of course, as you might expect, family worship, constant reading of the Bible, sermons read aloud, much Sunday school instruction, a great many tracts, and a great deal of religious literature marked the home. There was no liquor, tobacco, swearing, or bad language.

There were few luxuries, and early I had to help with kitchen chores, [illegible] to the farms of relatives and neighbours to collect weekly butter, eggs, milk, buttermilk, and sometimes meat at pig-killing time. I spent much time on the farms of my uncles and cousins, went to cottage meetings, and helped in the harvest field. My father never earned more than about a pound a week. Yet despite the paucity of schooling for the whole family, all were literate. The senior members of the family had been half-timers after the age of twelve or thirteen, that is to say, half-time in school and half at work. We were very independent, paid cash for all purchases and resented any patronage, were fiercely democratic, despised any show of power, relied on coal and oil lamps. Of course, there was no electricity or gas. But we seemed to have enough money for books and bicycles. We would not be classed as underprivileged, and I never remember any real hardship. Our meals were plain. We had a piano and our shoes and clothes were custom-made. Our butcher and grocer treated my mother with unusual respect, as she was a good customer. She always managed the family with amazing thrift and lived into her seventies. She wore a cape and bonnet like Queen Victoria on grand occasions and enjoyed the esteem in which her family was held. Only one daughter married. Two died when young women. Three lived long and busy lives, entertained at family events, even to a large reception for my brother, the Reverend John England, when he was installed in his native Portadown as President of the Methodist Church of Ireland.

Little had changed in this scheme of living in a century and my family as Methodists shared all the Methodist horror of strong drink, smoking, bad language, and dirty habits — a bit reminiscent of the advice that Mr. Wesley gave to one of his Irish preachers in 1769. "Dear brother," he wrote,

> I shall now tell you the things which have been more or less upon my mind since I was in the North of Ireland. If you forget them you will be a sufferer and so will the people. If you observe them, it will be good for both. Be steadily serious. There is no country upon earth where this is more necessary than Ireland, as you are generally encompassed by those, who, with a little encouragement, would laugh or trifle from morning to night. In every town, visit all you can from

house to house, but on this and on every other occasion, avoid all familiarity with women. This is deadly poison both to them and to you. You cannot be too wary in this respect. Be active. Be diligent. Avoid all laziness, sloth, indolence. Fly from every degree, every appearance of it, else you will never be more than half a Christian. Be cleanly. In this let the Methodists take pattern by the Quakers. Avoid all nastiness, dirt, slovenliness both in your person, clothes, house and all about you. Do not stink above ground. Whatever clothes you have, let them be whole, no rents, no tatters, no rags. These are a scandal to either man or woman, being another fruit of vile laziness. Mend your clothes or I shall never expect to see you mend your lives. Let none ever see a ragged Methodist. Clean yourselves of lice. Take pains in this. Do not cut off your hair but clean it. Keep it clean. Cure yourself and your family of the itch. A spoonful of brimstone will cure you. To let this run from year to year proves both sloth and uncleanness. Away with it at once. Let not the North be any longer a proverb of reproach to all the nations. Use no snuff unless prescribed by a physician. I suppose no other nation in Europe is in such vile bondage to this silly, nasty, dirty custom as the Irish are. Touch no dram. It is liquid fire. It is a sure but slow poison. It saps the very springs of life. In Ireland, above all countries in the world, I would sacredly abstain from this because the evil is so general and to this and snuff and smoky cabins I impute the blindness which is so exceeding common throughout the nation. I particularly desire wherever you have preaching that there may be a little house. Let this be got without delay. Wherever it is not, let none expect to see me.

So when I was a boy, there were still the little houses and the outside plumbing, as in Wesley's day.

None of my family was ever unemployed and most of them worked all their lives in the linen factory of W.D. Robb. One brother, William, worked there for fifty-eight years and was awarded a British Empire Medal. He was a well-known Methodist layman and preacher. Three sisters worked there for nearly half a century. One sister became a teacher. My brother, Jack, six years older than I, was a monitor for five years, then for two years a student at Marlborough Street Training College, Dublin, then a principal of a national school; he eventually entered the Methodist Church ministry and became Home Missions Secretary and President of the Methodist Church of Ireland. For me, to escape from such an austere environment of patient industry, unremitting thrift, and devout living seems now to be a sort of miracle, but on reflection, I realize how significant and important were the educational influences outside the schoolroom — books, discussions,

lectures, contact with other traditions, developing in me perhaps a certain orneriness and argumentative attitude towards established doctrines or dogma. My uncle, James Gibson, a very intelligent churchwarden on my mother's side, taught me to appreciate the prayer-book, while I sat beside him as a small boy in Knocknamuckly Church. My Wells cousins, at Lurgan, had acquired their farm land under the Wyndham Act. They gave me an early interest in settlement, land, and agricultural problems that stood me in good stead when eventually I was interested in writing the Veterans' Land Act. They were keen liberals and had a bust of Gladstone in the hall of their home. They were not characteristic of the Orange influences that were so strong in the neighbourhood. On my mother's side, a relative by the name of Henry Harrison became a barrister and secretary of Charles Stewart Parnell, so I imbibed some sympathy for the Irish attitude to the Anglo-Irish ascendancy.

Perhaps one ought to realize too that the Ulster Scot had a long connection with the United States. Mr. H.A.L. Fisher in his biography of Lord Bryce (James Bryce, author of *The American Commonwealth,* a Belfast man) wrote of him: "There is no stock in the world more passionate for right, more obstinate and scrupulous, more tenacious of purpose or more independent in judgement, less pliant to the stress of outward convenience or more harshly indifferent to the calls of indolence, lunacy and self-indulgence than that of the Scottish covenanter." In Northern Ireland that is the kind of stock we had. The Ulster Scot had early found his way to the Thirteen Colonies and by the time of the War of Independence there were about 300,000 of them there, practically all of them on the Americans' side. The Earl of Harcourt in 1776 complained of the North of Ireland that the Presbyterians there were in their hearts Americans. Immigration to the United States and Canada remained strong throughout the nineteenth century and the names of such presidents as Harrison, Garfield, and McKinley were much revered in Ulster. Garfield and McKinley had been lay preachers, one a member of the Disciples and the other a Methodist and in both cases, there had been distant relatives in Northern Ireland.

As a boy I read all of William R. Thayer's biographies of presidents, *From Log Cabin to White House,* and *Benjamin Franklin.* Stories of the presidents were part of the material to be had easily. *Kings without Crowns* was a volume covering the lives of American presidents, and not only that but there was a sketch of the American Constitution in it. As far as the British heroes went, we were always concerned with people like Cromwell, Pitt, Burke, Fox, Cobden, Sheridan, and Thomas Carlyle, who emphasized a liberal view. American writers like Longfellow, Whittier, Hawthorne, and Mark Twain were familiar. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a household book. As a

boy I won in an essay competition a copy of Emerson's *Essays,* which I devoured. Then, of course, there were the adventure stories that took one's eyes overseas, the stories of Henty, Ballantyne, Stevenson, the accounts of Wolfe in Canada, the Jesuit missions, the history of Methodism, *John Wesley in America.* And always to remind us of the Far North, there was the statue of Crozier in the neighbouring town of Banbridge. He had been second-in-command to Sir John Franklin in the North-West Passage Expedition. This stirred the imagination. Towards the turn of the century, there came Ralph Connor's *The Sky Pilot,* which perhaps fed me a romantic vision of Western Canada. One realizes now that it is not a book admired by highbrows, but somehow the seed sown of romance has remained in the afterglow of age.

I was schooled in the idea that life on the frontier was hard, tough, romantic, that only the strong could survive, and I wanted to meet the challenge. Nick, my brother, who farmed in northern Ontario after his period of service in the regular British Army, had good influence. I had had a great deal to do with him in his troubles. An ostler at a horse fair, he often joined the dealers and farmers in the public house, and as a small boy I took over the feeding of the horses and then retrieved him from the bar when he had had too much, leading him home. Once I had to take his meal to the police barracks because he had resisted arrest while "under the influence," as the constable said. He was still a rebel when he joined the army. He deserted and hid out for a week. When he turned up at home, I was deputed as a small boy secretly to retrieve his uniform from a farm three miles away. He was taken back by his father and all was well. Despite this rebel influence, I remained one of my family's rather exemplary boys, studious and attentive to church and Sunday school, but I liked Nick's way with horses, his daring, his love of Canada, and his determination to return there after his three years' military service. In World War I when he was a sergeant in the 58th battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, I met him in Bramshott and in an upstairs room of a pub his delight in finding that the youngest son would have a drink with him was only equalled by his pleasure that I had commissioned rank. I rejoice that we had that couple of hours of understanding before he went to meet his fate in France. I am sure our mother, who had shed many tears on his account, would have thanked me for that meeting and forgiven us for the whiskey we drank.

Let me return again to the overwhelming influence of extracurricular reading and other activities. There were Macaulay's *History* and *Essays,* Green's *Short History of the English People,* Morley's *Cobden,* Justin McCarthy's *Gladstone.* All these books gave me a view of the world that was very different from that of the world about me, which was very anti-

Catholic, very Protestant. Portadown had an unsavoury reputation for its attitude towards the Catholic minority. My father had left the Orange Order when a young man, before my birth, because he disagreed with the noisiness and conviviality of the gatherings in the Orange halls and public houses and the attitude to Catholics. He tended towards the Quaker view of life, was critical of ostentation, and in some aspects he was a rebel — even in his orthodoxy he sought his own route to doctrine by his own interpretation of the Bible. He was tenacious about the idea of free will and the right of the individual as against the predestination doctrine of some of the Presbyterians and the Plymouth Brethren. He was critical of the messianic-apocalyptic prophecies of the Plymouth Brethren and preferred to think of the second coming in the words of Scripture: "We know not the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh." True, he believed in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, but in practice the New Testament was more important to him than the Old; indeed, it was the fulfilment of the Old. The Old only partially revealed divine purpose. The texts were used, not equally, but differentially, and parts were thought more acceptable than others.

As to the Methodist ministers who served us, they were trained as preachers and their itineraries helped them to hone up their sermons in the three-year circuit time. Many were eloquent public orators. Since the Presbyterians were usually distinguished scholars and the Anglican rectors had established status, the Methodist preachers tended to be puritan and non-conformist and did not share the Protestantism ascendancy style. Perhaps because they traveled the South of Ireland and in Catholic communities, they were less parochial. Few were Orangemen and always there were one or two among the ministers who were converts from Catholicism. One such, the Reverend Patrick Donovan, married the daughter of the Right Honourable Thomas Shillington, P.C., a prosperous linen manufacturer, the only Eton-educated man in the county, a Methodist local preacher who often preached at our local church, Edenderry Memorial, Portadown. He was driven to church by his coachman, dressed in a frock-coat and top hat, and delivered a very carefully prepared sermon with solemn dignity, but I confess I found his sermons unexciting. He was a liberal and home ruler, a privy councillor, and had links with Downing Street.

The best of these Methodist ministers usually had one or more lectures on their special field of study or hobby, and as many of them were scholarly men and university-trained, I heard as a boy some quite remarkable and progressive views, or perhaps I have remembered them because of my predilection. For example, the Reverend Doctor Alexander McCrea endeavoured in two or three lectures to reconcile Darwin's and Huxley's evolution

theories with the Genesis account of Creation, an altogether striking and revolutionary move for a Methodist minister. The Reverend J.C. Robertson, D.D., gave several lectures on the Reformation and I am happy to say that at fifteen I won the essay prize in the adult group and became an ardent fan of Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, and of Huss, the Bohemian reformer somewhat critical of Luther — thus starting my interest in central Europe. The Reverend George Wedgewood gave a lecture on the eighteenth century, fitting Wesley into the pattern of the great minds of that century. The Reverend Mark Guy Pearse, colleague of Hugh Price Hughes of West London Mission, lectured on Cornwall. The Reverend James Smyth, LL.D., later principal of the United Church Theological College in Montreal, had an excellent lecture on Napoleon. The Reverend C.S. Greaves discussed the Eternal City, Eldorado, and Palestine, based on his travels in those areas.

Missionaries returned from foreign fields told us of India, China, Africa, and the West Indies. We had missionary plays and even a missionary exhibition of which at thirteen I was recording secretary. Band of Hope meetings encouraged us in some old-fashioned elocution and the Christian Endeavour Society gave us a chance to attend conventions in Belfast. Sunday schools gave older people the opportunity to chair Bible classes and to discuss more than Bible texts. On one occasion when I was thirteen, I joined a group of seventeen to nineteen to hear a doctor tell us all about sex. Although I had often listened to all the explicit language of the Bible, the terms had gone over my head and as the doctor assumed too much and talked too indirectly and allusively, I learned nothing. In our Sunday school, we had a unique character called Jimmy Kellow. He ran a small farm of two acres and lived in a thatched cottage. He had taught himself shorthand, had a deep interest in astronomy, had read all Sir Robert Ball's books on the subject, believed in phrenology and read the bumps on our heads, and conducted our male voice choir. He had been in Canada and taught us to sing "The Maple Leaf Forever" and "O Canada," telling us in many addresses how the people in Canada lived; thus we learned about winter practices and cutters, bob-sleighs, coyotes, and winter clothing and meals. Was there ever such a conditioning for life in Canada for a small boy?

In Thomas Street Elementary National School, I had Nelson's Royal Readers, and didn't know then that excerpts from these readers, chosen originally by the National Commissioners of Education in Dublin, had been authorized in 1846 by Egerton Ryerson for Ontario schools. So the furniture of my mind was similar to that of the Ontario people of my generation. They too had Gray's "Elegy," Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village," and Longfellow's "Sands of Time," Burns, Shelley, Wordsworth,

Tennyson, Charles Lamb, Milton, Shakespeare, Scott, Whittier, Cowper, Mrs. Hemans, and Mrs. Alexander. Most of the extracts were similar to those in McGuffey's Readers, which were current in the United States from 1800 to 1873, and about 122,000,000 copies of which were sold in the form of eclectic readers between 1836 and 1857.

The National Schools of Ireland were under clerical management. The curriculum did not stray far from the three R's, tonic sol-fa notation for music, Irish history, English history, drawing free-hand and scale, geography, and in later years a little elementary science aimed at literacy rather than science. By my time, teachers were allowed to fit into school hours or into overtime courses in algebra, Euclid, French, Latin, and Irish. In this way, I was able to acquire some mathematics and some knowledge of Latin and French and I was fortunate to be able to go to night classes in a new technical school to have some French from a teacher from France, who helped us to get away from the poor pronunciation in our national school. The usual preparation of an elementary schoolteacher was three years as a monitor or pupil-teacher from fifteen to eighteen years of age, success in the King's Scholarship examination at eighteen, and then two years in teacher-training college in Dublin. The King's Scholarship examination demanded a fairly high standard in elementary school subjects and the emphasis was on a wide range of general knowledge, omitting Latin, Greek, physics, chemistry, and higher mathematics. I became a monitor at fifteen and was rather proud to be given charge of Standard IV, where I carried practically all the work. Every fortnight I had to teach a lesson before the principal and assistant teachers and have their criticism of the lesson recorded on my lesson outline and method in an exercise book which could be inspected by H.M. Inspector of Schools, who sometimes called on us to repeat the lesson. I once did so with an elementary science demonstration lesson which was punctuated by terrific explosions as I passed some oxygen over some iron filings in a test tube to collect the resulting gas. But the inspector, perhaps because he was grateful for having survived the explosion, gave me a good mark, and had me carry on the lesson after the explosion had occurred.

It was extremely difficult to break away from this pattern of the King's Scholarship examination goal, and undertake work which was done for the Intermediate examinations by private schools and colleges. My brother Jack and sister Edith had followed the monitor-training college-Dublin route and had become teachers. By sixteen years of age, after seeing their work and following their examinations, I could have passed the King's Scholarship examinations. Meantime, at fifteen I had lost my father, and my brother Jack insisted that training college years would be wasted so gradually I came under the influence of tutors. The principal of Thomas

Street School (later the Reverend J.A. Davidson, M.A.) was working for his degree at Trinity College, Dublin. He taught me some Greek. Then I found the Reverend Townley-Tilson, M.A., who had done wonders with my closest but much older companions. For example, Harry Lamb was his pupil. Harry ran his father's farm, studied with zeal, lived on five hours of sleep each day, and was able to meet the eighty pounds for fees, travel to Dublin for examinations for an extramural Trinity College degree and for entry into the Anglican ministry, in which he had a successful career. (In 1969 as Canon Lamb, M.A., he and I met and resumed our eager discussions of sixty years ago. As a devoted pacifist he parlayed with hooded I.R.A. members in 1971 in an endeavour to stop the conflict. As old men we disagreed over many subjects, but remained very dear friends.) W.J. Johnston at twenty-five, without much schooling, emigrated to Canada, graduated with a Bachelor of Divinity degree from McGill, and became a D.D. and well-known United Church minister in Toronto. Moses Jeffers was a weaver in a linen factory doing ten hours a day, five days a week, and five hours on Saturday, but he also had Townley-Tilson help. He found that if he was to realize his ambition he had to leave the factory, so very painfully he set up a hat shop in Belfast and after a decade managed to qualify as a medical doctor and had an excellent career of service in Australia. All of us had read Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help*.

For me, the special difficulty was that unlike Moses Jeffers or Harry Lamb I could not imagine waiting ten years for a degree, yet I was determined that he was going to enter the Methodist ministry, and he urged Street Training College in Dublin. My brother Jack by this time had determined that he was going to enter the Methodist ministry, and he urged me to do likewise. Under the arrangements of the Methodist Church, it was customary to select young men and send them for three years to Methodist College in Belfast, where they often were able to go to Queen's University and take an arts degree. This seemed an open road, but I found that though I was acceptable to the Church, the examination results unfortunately made too good an impression, and I was thought to be mature enough to go out at eighteen on circuit as a probationer. This course did not suit me; I was far from mature. I had then one other route; I could emigrate to Canada, following in the footsteps of my brother Nick and of W.J. Johnston.

As a result, I found myself in Saskatchewan, where I had a period on farms, and did some other work, and then I registered at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, as an extramural student in English, Greek, and philosophy. War had come and in 1915 I made up my mind to join the Canadian Forces. By January 6, 1916, I had been commissioned as a lieutenant and joined the 203rd Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force

at Camp Hughes. During my training there, I ran into a brother officer, the late W.A. Carrothers (later a fellow Professor of Economics at the University of British Columbia), who had done what I had done, left Methodist College Belfast for Wesley College, Winnipeg. He won a D.F.C. in the air force in World War I and took his doctorate in economics at Edinburgh. His brother was a colleague of my brother Jack in Ireland. After 1916 I saw much of Paddy Carrothers, his wife and family, particularly when the children were young. Each of the sons has had a distinguished career.

In World War I, I served in France with the Royal Canadian Regiment, being twice wounded very severely and awarded the Military Cross. Some account of my service and activities appeared in the regimental history by R.C. Featherstonehaugh, *The Royal Canadian Regiment, 1883-1933* (1936). Long periods in hospital gave me a chance to read widely. I had the good fortune to be a guest during convalescence of Mr. Baker, the Quaker M.P. (father of Noel Baker) in the House of Commons, to hear Lloyd George, Asquith, and Chamberlain and to meet John Burns. A leave in Paris also gave me glimpses of another world. The short courses, the discipline, the comradeship left their residue and undoubtedly opened my eyes on a new world.

I was discharged at Regina in July 1919, and immediately went to work on a farm, spending a harvest with a Stanley Jones separator that had many breakdowns. In late October I took up work again at Queen's University, where I had the good fortune to be encouraged and helped by professors Oscar D. Skelton, W.C. Clark, and J.L. Morrison, three of the finest minds at Queen's. Here I read with deep interest Dr. J.T.M. Anderson's *The Education of the New Canadians* and C.B. Sissons' *Bi-Lingual Schools in Canada*. I was already familiar with James S. Woodsworth's *Strangers within Our Gates*. From this reading about the rural West and about the problems of the West, I developed an interest which led me to the employment described in the next chapter.

Thus, my monitor's experience, my determined assault on the gates of higher learning, my discovery of rural Saskatchewan, my four years of war service, and my time at Queen's brought my apprenticeship in part to an end. I was the graduate, not so much of Queen's, but of that community of underprivileged comrades who had won their own education by self-help. It was appropriate then that adult learning and education for me should be vital in any scheme of values. But as a non-churchgoer of half a century, it would be wrong for me to deprecate my early orthodox Christian training. I know that rationalists and liberals tend to deplore such inculcation of conventional virtues and Christian ideology in youth. In my case, I must

remember that death was never far away in my large family, nor in the trenches of World War I. My family, I recall, had as family doctor, a Dr. Hadden, and then his daughter and lastly his son. They, members of a devoted Methodist family, for seventy years have stood at the bedsides of my family as friends as well as physicians. I marvel now at the family affection, the saintly ministers, the doctors' care, the consolations of a shared Christian faith, and the continuity and strength of human sympathy and love over such a long period, none of it deriving from wealth, place, influence, or high fees. Then I ask myself, if God be love, then surrender of self, the incarnation and sacrifice are sacred — not entirely an historic or mythical or symbolic manifestation nearly 2,000 years ago but a process like the rhythm of life and death, somehow involved in our demand *for* and our satisfaction *in* the love of others.

There used to be a tutor's adage at Oxford that the object of a liberal education was to train one to put and prepare one to answer two questions: What do you mean? How do you know? But what if Pascal is right?

> On se fait une idole de la vérité même. Car la vérité hors de la charité n'est pas Dieu; elle est son image. Et, une idole qu'il ne faut pas aimer et adorer. Et encore moins, faut-il aimer et adorer son contraire qui est mensonge.

This might be freely translated: We make an idol even of truth but the truth without love is not God; it's only his image and an idol which we need not love and adore and also even more so must we not love and admire the opposite — falsehood.

This continuity of Christian love over a generation was important to me, but bits of academic and military knowledge had a part in my apprenticeship. The matriculation examinations of Durham and Queen's University, Belfast, before emigrating had compelled me to have some knowledge of trigonometry, which proved useful in map reading in France. When sent as a liaison officer on a tour of duty with a heavy artillery battery I won the confidence of the major in command because I was able to control gunfire and conduct a shoot. Brigadier-General Massey, in charge of all the heavy artillery, found me at an observation post, took me to dinner at his headquarters, and gave me permission to see the new secret sound-ranging apparatus which was mounted on a caravan — the first use of microphones to spot the locations of enemy guns. In France, too, there were intangible influences. I met and admired the late Georges Vanier (later Governor-General of Canada), then a major of the 22nd Battalion, and the late Hamilton Gault, founder of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. My closest comrade of 1917-18 was Milton Gregg, V.C., whose peace-time career as a cabinet minister and in high office has been notable.

These officers inspired their men by their extraordinary qualities of courage, chivalry, and courtesy, qualities that made a very deep impression upon me and were far more important to me than the emphasis of the Royal Canadian Regiment on permanent force tradition, smart uniforms from Hawkes of Saville Row, and membership in the Junior Naval and Military Club in Piccadilly.

In February 1919, I had the good fortune to marry a nursing sister, Amy Marion Hale, having been her patient in Ward 5 of the Third London General Hospital at Wandsworth. Throughout the war, she had nursed officers and had been mentioned in despatches after an extremely useful career.

Prior to her call-up in 1914, she was a member of the Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service - Territorial Force, had been trained in Chelsea, London, and had once nursed a case under the great Sir William Osler. She had spent some years in pioneering school nursing under the London County Council in the east end of London. Born in the New Forest, Hampshire, she had in her early life engaged in hunting and fishing and had had the special advantages of life in that lovely part of rural England, with a comfortable bourgeois background — a way of life and a professional training different from the patterns of my background, and therefore a source for learning.

My stay in hospitals was not unrewarding, as I found myself in the Duchess of Sutherland's Hospital at Boulogne, Lady Murray's at Le Tréport, the Third London General at Wandsworth, Dublin Castle Hospital, and finally Matlock Bath Convalescent Hospital for a month after each wounding. There were cheerful nurses and patients, concerts, visitors, tours, and much reading material. At Bramshott Military Camp I was able each week-end to enjoy the hospitality of a successful farmer, and I continued to read about agriculture and agricultural co-operation. Irish authors in my youth all dealt with rural life. A.E. (G.W. Russell) and Sir Horace Plunkett wrote of and preached "better farming, better business, better living."

In many ways, my apprenticeship was a rough experience, but family love, comradeship, changing scenes, emigration, trans-Atlantic journeys, Paris, London, the demands of army life, discipline, responsibility, the growing anxiety to know and to serve, and always the gnawing sense of inadequacy for the tasks ahead — these were conditioning parts of an unusual curriculum in what many might think a hard school.

2

RURAL SCHOOL IN SASKATCHEWAN IN THE TWENTIES

On May 31, 1920 my wife and I arrived at Slawa Rural School in a Ukrainian district, eight miles from the nearest village, Hafford, Saskatchewan, to live in an unpainted, rather disorderly, one-room shack and a tent. I opened school the following day. Every aspect of the school was a challenge. I was aware of the new movement in Canada to improve the rural school. I naturally was interested in relating the school to the agricultural economy of the parents, to make its curriculum more practical and pragmatic and less academic, far less esoteric and remote than the old-fashioned elementary school. I welcomed in Western Canada the divorce in the New World from clerical management, compulsory religious instruction, and the inferior elementary status of teachers, overworked methodology, over-emphasis on elementary subjects, and the new integration into the curriculum of other subjects such as manual training, household science, hygiene, and nature study. There was a less arbitrary division of knowledge and not the same break between elementary and secondary school subject matter. Gone were the toe-the-line disciplines, the formalism of physical drill, and in the subjects of art, music, manual training, attempts to teach appreciation rather than execution were gone, as was the eternal moralizing, the didacticism so deplored by Fowler when he quoted Goethe: "No mortal but is narrow enough to delight in educating others into the counterparts of himself," perhaps more crudely put in the old-fashioned rhyme, "Speak when you are spoken to, do as you are told, shut the door after you, good little kid."

In remembering Slawa Rural School I recall the philosophy of education that developed in those years. Dr. George M. Weir, later head of the Department of Education at the University of British Columbia and Minister of Education in that province, was, in the twenties, Principal of the Normal School in Saskatoon, and a new Normal School was being built. He told Mr. Downer, librarian of the new Normal School, that any books that I wanted to read should be in the new Normal School library. Consequently, I used to receive from Mr. Downer lists of books on education and when I marked them and sent them back, he would send me boxes of these by railway express. The result was that I became familiar with the work of such men as Dewey, the famous philosopher of education, Bailey of

Cornell, Butterfield, Carver, and other names of specialists interested in rural development. I also was able to use the open-shelf of the legislative library in Regina. Extramural books came to me from Queen's University and we had in the school a traveling library box renewed regularly and sent to us from the Parliament Buildings in Regina.

It will not be necessary for me to cover much of the thinking and detail, the background and work of the Slawa School, as there are three or four chapters in *The Central European Immigrant in Canada*, published in 1929, that cover in short form the pattern that I followed. But the main guidelines of my approach to learning as a lifetime activity of those years remains much the same, as is indicated by the principles discussed in later volumes, *The Colonization of Western Canada* (1936), where I dealt with the Community Progress Competitions of the Canadian National Railways, the brochure *Disinterested Education* (1937), written when I was Director of Extension at the University of British Columbia, and *Discharged* (1943), covering the rehabilitation of World Wars I and II veterans, and *Twenty Million World War Veterans* (1950).

In 1920 when I came to Slawa School, I was much influenced by two books. One was a novel, *The Brown Mouse* (1915), and the other was a Saskatchewan government report, *The Foght Survey of Education* (1918). *The Brown Mouse* was one of those uplifting, Middle West novels by Herbert Quick, a member of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau, that as literature then had little appeal to cultivated tastes and certainly not to sophisticated critics. It was much after the pattern of the do-good novels of Ralph Connor, where the ideal was romantic, athletic, Presbyterian missionaries. The message of *The Brown Mouse* was of course loud and clear. The hero is a rural schoolteacher who endeavours to break down the isolation of his school from the life of the community. His assembly of farm papers and bulletins, typewriters, sewing machines, old telephone, hectograph, weed seed bottles, milk tester, card indexes, manual training equipment, garden tools and implements and his determined use of them in schoolwork impels one of his critics, Mrs. Bonner, a ratepayer, to say: "We people that have had a hard time want to give our boys and girls a chance to live easier lives than we lived. We don't want our children taught about nothing but work. We want higher things." Jim Irwin, the teacher, earnestly replies, "Mrs. Bonner, we must do first things first. Making a living is the first thing and the highest." The author believed that this deep instinct for labour in and about the soil was valid, and that the gathering together of people in cities was at the cost of moral and aesthetic values. Thus, bulletins on agricultural extension and the skills of his farmer neighbours and others were to be used to create a learning environment to move

the community into the classroom and to provide a better understanding of the agricultural economy. There was much emphasis on varieties of corn and on horticulture. Of course, the author idealized the rural teacher's job.

The Foght Report followed to some extent the idea of a rural schoolteacher becoming part of the community, and recommended the building of teacherages and the better training of teachers. The Middle West background of the Report is clear. Dr. Harold W. Foght was a specialist in rural school practice at the Bureau of Education in Washington, D.C. He was given great freedom in dealing with the material submitted to him for his Report on Saskatchewan rural schools. He pulled few punches, and one reads with amazement today the frank account he gave of the poor condition of the rural schools in Saskatchewan about 1917. For instance, there is a statistical table which shows that twenty-five per cent of the school privies were classed by their own teachers as clean and seventy-five per cent as dirty. "So far," he writes, "Saskatchewan has failed to meet the best requirements. It is well to bear in mind too that whatever of viciousness may crop out in school can usually be traced to insanitary, indecent toilets. Teachers are oft-times careless in these matters, or a false modesty keeps them from doing their duty. Not alone must the teachers learn in training school and elsewhere the vital importance of terminating this menace to public health and common decency, but the Government must back the teachers by enforcing stringent legal requirements for modern sanitary privies to the exclusion of all others." With regard to water supply, he revealed that there were many open wells and that fifty-two per cent of all schools still clung to the filthy, common dipper and only thirty-five per cent used individual cups. School buildings were mostly frame, with windows on both sides and cross-lighting injurious to the children's eyesight. His comment on heating and ventilation revealed that most schools were heated by unjacketed stoves. "Very many things," he wrote, "must be changed before the average schoolroom can furnish the ideal home-like atmosphere that attracts and holds children in school. Nothing bespeaks so plainly the need of thorough-going courses in hygiene and sanitation in teacher training schools as the unsatisfactory conditions in which many of the schools are kept."

It says much for the broad-minded concern for Saskatchewan schools of the Premier and Minister of Education, W.M. Martin, his government, and administrative staff, that they used the services of an American expert, welcomed his strictures, and endeavoured to carry out the recommendations which he made. One can imagine today the outcry against the government if it employed an American who condemned the school system in such unmeasured language. And one can visualize the enormous adverse

publicity which would arise and the attacks which would be made on the government as the results of the Report. Dr. J.T.M. Anderson, then Director of Education among New Canadians during 1918-22, who had induced us to take up this school in northern Saskatchewan, was a firm believer in the recommendations and suggestions of the Foght Report and I had the good fortune to read the Report before I undertook my duties. The whole document made a deep impression and Anderson's policy of integrating the rural school with the agricultural economy, the practicalizing of the curriculum, the teacherage, the school garden, the use of members of the district who had skills in schools, and breaking down the walls and isolation of the schoolroom were all in agreement with my past background. I was not surprised when we came to Slawa School to see that in many ways it was typical in appearance. We at once busied ourselves with cleaning the school, one-room shack, and grounds.

Dr. Anderson paid us a visit within three months and at a ratepayers' meeting a new Board of Trustees was elected and my contract as teacher approved. Harvest was on and we shut down the school for two weeks, during which time Dr. Anderson took us with him in his car to visit schools in northern Saskatchewan. We visited one school taught by T.W. Johnson, B.A., a Methodist minister who had left the ministry to run a social centre at Insinger. It was a pilot project and several such centres were eventually operated by the Methodist Church. Later, in Hafford, a hospital was built and a centre run by the Reverend George Dorey, who in 1954-56 became a moderator of the United Church of Canada. Quite soon after our arrival at Slawa I had been invited by the Reverend C. Endicott, Superintendent of Methodist Missions in Saskatchewan, to undertake the operation of the Hafford centre and to run the hospital with my wife, but I thought that the sponsorship of the Methodist Church might be misunderstood. I preferred to remain in the field of education in a rural community rather than to work in a small urban centre. The hospital at Hafford was later managed by Dr. Arthur Rose, whose wife was a sister of the well-known Mr. J.S. Woodsworth. They rendered remarkable service for many years until the hospital became a municipal responsibility. Arthur Rose remains an old friend. I was aware of the work of Dr. Hunter among Ukranians between the lakes in Manitoba and I had begun reading about Ukrainians with Mrs. Florence H. Livesay's translations of Ukrainian poetry *Songs of Ukraine* (1916) and Emily G. Blach's *Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens* (1915). This visit across northern Saskatchewan with Dr. Anderson gave us a glimpse of the conditions confronting his work, conditions he hoped to change along the lines of the Foght Report.

On our return to Slawa our first task was to get a teacherage built. The

school was a frame building, cross-lighted. The walls were wooden tongue-and-groove, stained a dark colour. The grounds had been neglected and were weedy, but we managed to get the weeds cleared and the ash heaps and tins dealt with. We replaced the open well by a force pump. The common dipper disappeared and the windows were cleaned. There were about thirty-seven pupils, seven of whom were in Grade 5 and the balance in the lower grades. The district had a population of 150, of which 108 were Ukrainian, eighteen English-speaking, nine Polish, and fifteen German. The new board consisted of a German, who had been a member of the old pre-1914 German army, a Ukrainian and an Ontario-born farmer who immediately transferred his daughter from the town school in Radisson fourteen miles away from Slawa, thus introducing an English-speaking girl among the Ukrainian and Polish pupils. The efficient secretary-treasurer, Mr. Wilcox, loaned us his gramophone and farm papers and we began to call upon our neighbours for support for the school.

Perhaps it is best to summarize briefly the changes made. The ceiling and the walls of the school down to the wainscoting were painted cream. We dealt with the cross-lighting by boarding up the lower portions of two windows, thus providing additional wall space and reducing cross-lighting on the blackboard. We secured some good reproductions of paintings and by use of curtains and plants beautified the walls and windows. The grounds were laid out in such a way as to be neat and practical. One section was used for games for the older children. We used team games rather than individual play. The smaller children's ground had a swing, sand tray and benches, and some play equipment. There was a tendency for children to stand around munching sunflower seeds and in the teacher's absence even poppy seed, so we had to make an effort to organize games.

The average attendance was about thirty-four, so floor space worked out at something like eleven square feet per pupil. The desks were regrouped and Grade 5 used the rear blackboard. We gave ourselves floor space in which children could put on little plays from the stories in their readers. The desks, unfortunately, were double and not too satisfactory, but in the senior grades each pupil was given a desk. As to the privies, we had pails made and arranged for clean hinged seats. Each week the pails were taken out and the contents buried in nearby wild land. An oversize pail was used for water to clean pails, and in wintertime this oversize pail with hot water enabled a pail to be placed in it so that the contents could be turned out with ease. The pails were always washed, lime was used freely, and I inspected the privies every schoolday, sometimes twice a day. Gradually the children and parents came to appreciate the increasing comfort and cleanliness that these changes made. Around the acre and a half we planted caragana, Manitoba maple,

and Russian poplar received from the federal government Indian Head nursery. We encouraged pupils to bring their own mugs and we had a school garden with individual plots and an annual competition for the children, and a teacher's garden kept us in competition with pupils, who taught us a great deal about growing vegetables. The parents were soon taking an interest in our flowers and gardens.

As a nurse, my wife made many friends among our neighbours. They taught her much about Ukrainian cooking and baking and we learned something of Ukrainian dishes such as holubci and bortsch. After all, we were immigrants too, tackling a new environment and a new job and we took every opportunity we could to use any knowledge or skill of the older generation in demonstrations at the school. Our business was to have the community break into the school. We produced a school lunch and often had our mid-day meal with the pupils. A telephone in the house kept us in constant touch with the parents and in case of bad weather and by organization of routes (since no family lived farther than three and a half miles away), we were able to run winter school and get in the full legal 210 days annually.

As we lived on the school grounds the year around, we had to keep them in good order, whitewash stones around the flags, properly screen the porches, and weed the flowerbeds. We got into the habit of welcoming visitors anxious to see the school. We gathered equipment wherever we could. The Independent Order of the Daughters of the Empire gave us books for the library. Eatons gave us fifty catalogues each year which we used for cutting out; often the children made out the catalogue orders for their parents in the school. A hectograph was used by pupils for a weekly school newspaper. A traveling library box, farm papers and bulletins, lantern slides, and the silver cups won at sports and fair days were among our school furniture. Dr. McMurchie's little set of Blue Books 1-14, which dealt with maternity and the care of infants, was in constant use. Most pupils brought garden tools from home, and of course harvested the vegetables from their plot and any flower seeds that mother coveted.

Dr. Anderson came often and always had a Pathé 16 mm projector, and this meant that there was an evening show. At Christmas, Sir John Eaton sent us two cartons of toys and presents and some clothing, which proved welcome. The Red Cross kept my wife supplied with equipment and dressings. Every visitor had to contribute his share by telling the children something of his special hobby. Inspector McCullough of Watrous, the best nature study specialist in Saskatchewan, took the pupils several times for expeditions. Dr. George Weir, Principal of the Normal School, was also a visitor and talked to the children, as did Robert Weir, former school

inspector and later Federal Minister of Agriculture. Miss Mackie of New Zealand spent a week with us and talked about New Zealand. My old friend, A.W. Sime, former aide-de-camp to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, spent some time with us. Guy Markham, my comrade of Queen's University days (now the Reverend Guy Markham, B.A., B.Paed., L.Th.), spent a week with us. Mr. Spears, M.A., LL.B., who with his wife was doing similar work, and Mr. Singleton, B.A., and his wife, who also both worked in a rural school, visited us on several occasions. We had support from the neighbouring towns, Mr. N. McIntyre, lumber dealer, Mr. Hess, bank manager in Hafford, and the businessmen in Radisson and its high school principal, Miss Marie Smith, B.A. (later Mrs. George M. Weir), who with the Reverend Mr. Rance and Mr. Orange invited our pupils as guests to their school fair. Our Inspector of Schools, Mr. Drimmie, and his wife, were friends, always helpful and interested in new projects.

We started a Farmers' Institute and had speakers from Hafford and Regina. It was fascinating to watch the children helping their fathers to prepare the short introductions they had to make for these speakers in English at the meeting.

The Secretary-Treasurer of our rural municipality of Redberry, Orest Zarepko, the first Ukrainian graduate from a university in Western Canada, gave us much help. It was very important that he should be sympathetic, because as secretary-treasurer of the municipality he had considerable control over the allocation of funds from taxes for payment of our salary. Sometimes when my salary was two or three months in arrears, I would pay him a visit. He would probably want to talk about Kant or some other philosopher and sometimes pick up a volume of Kant. He was more skilled in philosophy than I was, and extremely well read. After half an hour of discussion he would look up and say, "I suppose you need some money. I think there are some taxes coming in. I'll see what I can do." Sure enough, my arrears would be paid.

We started a boy scout troop, wolf cubs, and girl guides and my wife attended to the first aid instruction of all these groups. I took the map reading and took the children on hikes in the country. We also took fifteen of them to camp at Scouting Lake, where they had the experience of having in camp not only Doctor Anderson but Inspector McCullough, Mr. Selby, Executive Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of Saskatchewan, Dr. George M. Weir, and my wife and myself. It was good for all of us to live in camp together. When in Saskatoon on a refresher course in scouting, I met Dr. J.W. Robertson, who was interested in the scout movement in Canada. He had been a pioneer in agricultural education and I shall discuss his work in the early extension movement in the next chapter.

After World War I, agricultural extension had not made much headway in out-of-the-way rural districts, but there was a determined school garden movement and in Regina this movement was co-ordinated by Mr. Bates and Mr. Harry Saville of the Department of Education, who issued bulletins and arranged fair days in which children's work and garden produce were exhibited. This movement later merged into the 4H movement, but it had a remarkable influence over the rural schools in improving the appearance of the schools grounds, integrating the school with the work of the rural community, bringing together schools at school fairs, and enabling teachers and pupils to develop the manual training, science, and musical side of the curriculum. In all these things we kept a busy correspondence with the various branches of the Department of Education in Regina.

By 1921 Slawa School was known in the province; correspondents of *The Farmer's Advocate* and *The Grain Growers' Guide* had paid us visits and given us full coverage with pictures and stories in issues of these periodicals. The Saskatoon Rotary Club helped us with uniforms for the scouts and guides, and I was increasingly being called upon for speeches at clubs and at educational conferences. The trustees' provincial convention in Regina gave me an excellent reception and at teachers' conventions I was welcomed. In 1921 after a discussion with Dr. Anderson and Dr. Weir, there developed the idea of a scholarship fund which would encourage married graduate teachers and teachers with first-class certificates to spend a year in non-English-speaking schools. Dr. Weir in 1921 as Grand Master of the Saskatchewan Masonic Order saw a chance to have the Masonic Order of Saskatchewan develop such a plan as a war memorial. He succeeded in raising $20,000 for the project, a large sum in 1922, when economic conditions in Saskatchewan were somewhat uncertain.

The scholarships, known as memorial scholarships, accorded to each recipient $300 to assist a holder with a second-class diploma to complete his or her first-class professional certificate training and to enable graduates to complete their professional training, thus acquiring high school certificates. More than fifty scholarships were awarded; thirty-one of these were for the 1922 spring session of Normal School (Saskatoon) and twenty for the spring session in 1923. I was very much involved in this program as I accepted one of the scholarships and met in the new Normal School with the other scholarship holders — mostly graduates — and assisted in their preparation and at the same time acquired my own high school teacher professional qualifications. As mentioned, I was already a graduate of Queen's and had done considerable reading in rural sociology and rural education. There was, however, a difficulty; would it be possible to run Slawa Rural School while I was obliged to be at Saskatoon Normal School. Eventually, at the

suggestion of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Weir, my wife agreed to run the school in February and in early March 1922.

This involved her living alone in the house and carrying on the school and looking after all the housekeeping. She was a woman of great courage and was never worried about being alone. It is a tribute to her neighbours — her Ukrainian neighbours — that she was able to live alone during that period and leave her doors unlocked. Her neighbours saw to it that no harm came to her. She was deeply involved in every project around the school, knew all the things that I tried to do in the classroom, and knew all the children and their parents and had even nursed some of them. One incident of that time may be noted. The Saskatchewan Department of Education picked Slawa School for a 16mm documentary silent film on the rural school which covered most of our activities — the school lunch, the scouts and guides, the night school, and various aspects of the work that could be put on a documentary at that time. A copy of this documentary is now in the archives of the Film Institute in Ottawa. The film made our work known through the province and also developed a tremendous interest in this type of work among young people who thought of entering the profession. Consequently when the scholarship scheme was announced late in 1921, there was no lack of applicants. Thirty-one scholarships were awarded for 1922, selected from over 200 applicants representative of all the provinces of Canada as well as of certain British universities and other educational institutions. Dr. George Weir and his committee took great pride in the type of people who accepted scholarships and the obligation of teaching one year in a non-English-speaking rural school. I greatly enjoyed my association with the scholarship holders in the Saskatchewan Normal School in Saskatoon in 1922, under the principal, Dr. George M. Weir, and I was president of the Literary Society, the student body. Perhaps two of Dr. Weir's letters will indicate the kind of attitude and interest that was attached to this experiment in those days.

In the first letter from Saskatoon from the Provincial Normal School, Dr. Weir congratulated my wife on the work she was doing in my place at Slawa Rural School. He went on to write:

> Mr. England is proving a great help and inspiration, both to the staff and to the student body and I really hope and confidently believe that before many years, he will be occupying a position of great educational prominence in the province. Much of his ability and zeal to carry on is due to the assistance of his better half in bearing a somewhat heavy burden, under conditions that must be very trying and monotonous at times. I realise that you are entitled to a rest after the experiences of recent years and for this reason, I wish to express my sincere personal

> appreciation of your wholesome outlook on life that must necessarily underline the really heroic services you are rendering at the present time. Mr. England is really filling a vital place in our normal school life, in the literary society of which he is president, in the classroom and in the group of Masonic scholarship holders of which he is the moving spirit and chief inspiration. I know his presence here is largely due to your ability to serve at the front line trench while he is, shall I say, at the base station. The analogy is imperfect as Mr. England is also serving and he looks for even more extensive and conspicuous service in the future.

In April 1922, Dr. Weir wrote me:

> Just a note to wish Mrs. England and yourself well in every undertaking and to remind you that I shall look to you, Sime, Johnson and a few others to lend that esprit de corps and guidance that our scholarship teachers need, and without which I am afraid some may not be able to put forth their best efforts. In all the year's activities that Masonic Scholarship group stands out as the bright and shining star and inspiration to service and a devotion to duty. It has been worthwhile living the past strenuous Masonic and academic year if only to be brought into close touch with such an ideal and such a band of workers. Your teacherage will soon be vine clad or at least will present that picture and appearance among the foliage so well displayed by the movie pictures. I hope to visit you some time this summer and meet Mrs. England and yourself in your own castle. You did very well in the examinations — exceptionally well. I gave you 90% on the Psychology and Science of Education. You also did very well on all the other parpers — honors standing in everything.

Dr. Weir need not have worried. The scholarship teachers picked up the main ideas which we had tried to develop at Slawa, thought of the teacherage and school as a community centre, endeavoured to run night school and to put in household science equipment and school lunches, and started scout and guide troops. As to the recommendations of my own report at the end of my year, I opted for controlled immigration, more directed settlement, and urged that there should be as a prerequisite of naturalization some knowledge of English or French and of the system of government and some practical evidence of citizenship or desire for sharing in the community work, together with a ceremony of naturalization and a certificate of citizenship. I little knew then that I was to be concerned in carrying out many of these recommendations in the years that followed in settlement work and in community progress activities between 1924 and 1937 with the

Canadian National Railways and that in 1944 I was to deal with the matter of the ceremony and certificate of citizenship and submit a draft plan which was accepted.

By 1923, after three years of a successful experiment and with the co-operation of Dr. J.T.M. Anderson, I had reached a point where I was developing perhaps undue zeal in this matter of rural development and rural interests which could easily move into narrow bigotry and fanaticism leading to political agitation. I had become very interested in the work of LePlay, the French sociologist who had carried out many surveys of families and who was devoted to the family idea. I was anxious to pursue this topic where I could find the volumes of surveys which LePlay had developed, so I applied for and accepted a Saskatchewan Government Paris Scholarship and on May 31, 1923, my wife and I said good-bye to our pupils, their mothers, and ratepayers on road work who came to the school for a farewell visit. We had to hurry over to the teacherage as tears fell, the only post and home we ever left with tears. We felt that we had shared the pioneering task with our neighbours and I can now say that it was the happiest and most fruitful experience of my life. On June 1, 1923, Dr. Anderson, Dr. Weir, and Hilda MacDonald, R.R.C., R.N., drove from Saskatoon to take us there on our way to Paris.

As we shared the last meal at Slawa, Dr. Weir prophesied that on my return to Saskatchewan, I would engage in political life, and it was inevitable that I would enter this field. They had chosen as my successor, Mr. Roy Knight, later an arts graduate of the University of Saskatchewan and a member of parliament for Saskatoon. Mr. Knight had had considerable experience in farming, was bilingual in French and English, spoke a little Ukrainian, and had a sound education and wide experience. Dr. Weir's prophecy was met by me by the statement that all three of those at the table would be in politics before I was. My reasons were, first, who on earth in Canada would ever vote for a candiate with the name of England, and second, my wife had told me quite firmly, and she meant it, that if I ever entered politics she would leave me. I had often speculated as to why through the years she had stuck to this prohibition. There had been three or four occasions on which I had been urged to enter provincial and national politics and once been urged to enter civic politics. But I suspect in those days that she was concerned about my lung wound and the possibility of the extra strain of subjecting lungs and old wounds to the climatic conditions of Saskatchewan.

Most of our pupils, I am glad to say, did well: two became teachers, one followed my wife and became a trained nurse, training at the Edmonton General. We used to meet her frequently in the thirties. One has written me

within the last few years. He is a successful businessman in New York. It is incredible to think now that most of the pupils and the adolescents of the night school are now receiving their old age security pensions. Since those years, larger farms, migration from the farms, smaller families, the mechanization of farms, and school consolidation have altered the horse-and-buggy localism which made the rural school community what it was. Meantime T.V. and radio and the automobile, better roads, and the accessibility of the small cities have transformed the whole rural scene. Slawa Rural School has gone. The echoes of the Ukrainian chorus and the sleighbells in the moonlight have died away. Only a few trees survive "Where run-down shadows lengthen over the limitless and lonesome prairie" (Walt Whitman, *The Oxford Book of American Verse* [New York 1966] 301).

3

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION, AGRICULTURAL REFORM, AND RURAL SCHOOL OBJECTIVES

My reference to political reform and action deserves some explanation. My wife and I were deeply involved in the life of our community. Although we did not speak Ukrainian we managed to communicate with the parents, and as the children gradually acquired a knowledge of English, night school improved the English of many adolescents, so in a short time someone in each family could interpret for the older people, who made valiant efforts to understand us. Austerity, pioneer hazards, risky agriculture, and economic insecurity were not unexpected, but there were also lack of medical care and educational opportunities, poor housing, and a bleak social life. Prior to my war service I had often stayed in the home of a relatively successful farm family in southern Saskatchewan where two older brothers were dedicated Marxian socialists and whose bible consisted of the heavy volumes of Karl Marx and other communist literature. At Queen's I had many arguments with an Alberta teacher, a student, very devoted to his Marxian theories. I took Dr. Skelton's course on socialism and read his painstaking critical analysis. There were on my shelves Fabian essays, Laidler's *Socialism and Thought in Action*, and I had been a reader during my last year in the army of *The New Statesman*. But totalitarian state socialism or Russian communism with expropriation of all private property and the suppression of opposition and criticism were repugnant. Most ex-servicemen of the old C.E.F. had had their fill of barrack-room and parade-ground authority, and the old pioneer freedoms of the West — bachelor homesteads, unconventional ways, the elbow room of a quarter section — however superficial and illusory these freedoms may have been, had about them an aura, a dream life in Canada intensified by the grim trench warfare, and looked forward to with very uncertain hope.

I tended to regard the farmer as the initial and essential producer and urban dwellers as the beneficiaries of his toil. There was a feeling that the manual work involved in agriculture had some special significance, some redeeming quality. In my teens in Ireland, I read Cicero's *De Senectute* under one of the ablest classical scholars of his time, and we sometimes had to hurriedly rush out to save hay or do some other chore on the rectory acres, which were as important to him as the great Greek and Latin tomes

on his shelves. Like Virgil, he thought the husbandman the bulwark of morals, the guardian of true happiness, and that on his frugality and industry the stability of the community rested — the theme of Virgil's *Georgics*. My wife was always a keen gardener and as a blundering amateur this interest remained for me until her illness and my incapacity had made growing our own vegetables and fruit impossible. Unfortunately, my wife suffered a serious injury to her spine in 1915 in lifting a patient and the threat of complete invalidity always remained with her as well as in my case with disabilities from war wounds, which prevented us from following our original idea of farming.

When we reached Slawa School in northern Saskatchewan we became readers of the Winnipeg *Free Press*, *The Grain Growers' Guide*, and other farm journals, were interested in producer and consumer co-operation, and engaged with our neighbours in a few experiments in wholesale buying and beef rings. The Foght Report had used the Danish folk and rural schools as a paradigm of education. I became deeply interested in Danish agricultural co-operation and its methods and the way in which those schools fitted the pattern of their agriculture and of co-operative living. I was not averse to state socialism as developed in the control of utilities or control of monopoly in areas of abuse, but totalitarian state socialism was uncongenial. Like everyone associated with rural Saskatchewan in those days, I found that there was a great pride of occupation behind the agrarian movement that swept across the Middle West and across Western Canada. Behind the grain growers' movement in Saskatchewan were men like Motherwell, Dunning, and Langley, the member for our constituency. Hopkins Moorhouse's *Deep Furrows* (1918) had made me familiar with the history of the farmer movement, and I came to share much of its ideology — the distrust of laissez-faire economics, the radical attitude to the old-line parties, the emphasis on co-operation and public ownership of utilities, economy in the public service, reduction in taxes, lower tariffs, better farm credit facilities, central banking, and secure farm tenure. The state was regarded as neither omniscient nor maternal and there was no sense of awe accorded to laissez-faire economics, nor was there at that time any emotional yearning for overall planning, collective production, and controlled consumption, since farmers as proprietors and producers were not keen on state manipulation of their enterprises. Much of this had changed by the thirties. But in 1919, the United Farmers of Ontario, typical to some extent of the movement throughout Canada, triumphed, which had its effect upon Western Canada. After all, the Ontario tradition had had an enormous impact on pioneer farming, the farm help system, kitchen methods of preserving fruit and the provisioning of cellars, work "bees"

for neighbourly co-operation, the pound, the bob-sleigh, the cutter, the Democrat, the buggy, the frame house, storm windows. A Ukrainian boy in a rural school in Canada was taught the map of the heavens by reference to the Great Dipper, the Great Plough, or the Great Bear, and accepted a pattern for farm and home derived mainly from Ontario.

While I was at Queen's in 1919, Dr. Skelton brought the Honourable W. R. Motherwell to his politics class and we had an opportunity to discuss the early grain growers' movement. When one reflects upon the extraordinary growth of agriculture, despite the grim toll of depression and disaster of the thirties, and the efficiency of agriculture in Western Canada today as evidenced by increased production per capita engaged in agriculture, the mechanization of the large farms, the powerful producers' co-operative organizations, livestock improvement, the sophisticated skills and better husbandry of the soil, shelterbelts, the homes and the buildings served by electric power and the amenities of inside plumbing, television, and automobiles and the neater appearance of farm houses, it should be realized that here is no accidental strike of riches, no windfalls, but an intelligent and extremely industrious matching of wits with the harsh environment owing success to a great extent to the early preoccupation of governmental endeavour with the problems of agriculture from an educational angle.

In 1906, the Manitoba Agricultural College, following the lead of Guelph, engaged in extension courses, followed again by new universities, Saskatchewan in 1910, Alberta in 1912, British Columbia in 1915. Agriculture faculties of the universities were regarded as the bread and butter, as essential and primary in their close links with the farmers, and it was impossible then to think of a university in Western Canada without thinking of the agriculture faculty. Dominion Experimental Farms had already been active in the field — Indian Head from 1888, Rosthern in Saskatchewan from 1909, and Agassiz, British Columbia, from 1888. Experimental farms opened at Lethbridge in 1906, Lacombe in 1907, Scott, Saskatchewan in 1911, Saanichton in 1915, Peace River about 1915, and Swift Current in 1921. These farms, together with the work of men like Seager Wheeler and William Saunders, developed an extraordinary interest in progressive application to the farm of scientific agricultural research. Dr. James W. Robertson, Sir Charles Saunders, E.S. Archibald, who became Director of the Experimental Farms in 1919, Dr. Gussow, Dominion Botanist, Dean G.S.H. Barton, who later was Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Angus Mackay of Indian Head, and Dean Clement of the University of British Columbia were giants in those days, and most of them I knew.

The Honourable W.R. Motherwell was the first Minister of Agriculture

in Saskatchewan in 1905 and held the portfolio until 1918. He, like Chipman, editor of *The Grain Growers' Guide*, not only was a keen student of dry farming methods and of possible co-operation but also a horticulturalist. In the thirties I spent pleasant hours on the Chipman property on the river near Winnipeg and found to my surprise that he was in his private political philosophy a republican. These men were close to the scientists who had developed Marquis wheat and Professor Buller, who in 1919 was to tell the story of wheat in *Essays on Wheat*. The farm leaders in the west — Tom Crerar, Charlie Dunning, John Bracken, John Brownlee — in the early twenties were not only astute polititicians but had marked executive ability and business sense, as demonstrated in their later careers. I met them all and was impressed by their administrative gifts, shrewd judgement of men and affairs, and their keen sense of economy and prudence in public and private finance.

In 1920, twelve farmers were elected to the Manitoba legislature and in 1921, thirty-eight United Farmers of Alberta formed a government under John Brownlee. In December 1921, sixty-five Farmer-Progressive members were elected to the House of Commons at Ottawa under the leadership of Tom Crerar, and in 1922, John Bracken, who had been Professor of Field Husbandry at the University of Saskatchewan and in 1920 President of the Manitoba Agricultural College, became the head of a farmer government in Manitoba. It is not surprising therefore that these were years in which there was a climate of opinion which favoured the growth of extension services both of the university and of provincial departments of agriculture. There was a deep interest in the role of schools seeking the reform of objectives and methods and endeavouring to bring the farmer and the farmer's family closer to the means of improving their lot.

In the Middle Western United States, concern for agriculture and for rural education exploded into a movement in which the Land Grant Colleges were much involved. In the United Kingdom, educators were giving attention to rural educational institutions and home industries. For example, the United Kingdom Board of Education and His Majesty's Stationery Office published several pamphlets which still have a place on my shelves. They include *Rural Special Subjects Centre* (1915), *Education and a Peasant Industry* (1912), and *The Problem of the Rural School and Teacher in North America* (1908). The latter had an account of Professor J.W. Robertson's work in the MacDonald Scheme of Rural Education and of MacDonald College, from which institution came Dr. G.S.H. Barton and President L.S. Klinck, Professor G.G. Moe, Frank Buck, and Paul Boving, with whom I was to be associated later, and all of whom shared the passionate zeal of Dr. Robertson to proclaim and utilize what was already

known and to encourage farmers to adopt the results of research.

In 1902-3, the MacDonald Scheme for Rural Education sent teachers first to botany and education departments at Chicago University and then to Ontario Agricultural College, and finally to Cornell University, where Dr. L.H. Bailey was the chief inspiration. He had been Dean of Agriculture there in 1903 and later was to become chairman of Roosevelt's Country Life Commission in 1908. One of these teachers was my friend, John Wesley Gibson, father of Dr. William Gibson, Professor of the History of Medicine at the University of British Columbia and President Emeritus James Gibson of Brock University, whose married sisters, a nurse and dietician, uphold the high standards of the family in academic matters. Mr. Gibson's widow in *Master Builder* (1962) has written a full account of her husband's training and his work in Carleton County and subsequently in British Columbia, where he was a pioneer of correspondence course education. I shall refer to my association with him in the Canadian Legion Educational Services in another chapter. Another of these rural teachers trained at Chicago and Cornell was the Honourable John Walter Jones, premier of Prince Edward Island (1943-53), whose co-operation with the Veterans' Land Act was helpful and whose farm I visited with Dr. Archibald. His Holstein Friesen herd was outstanding; his *Report on Fur Farming Long Ago* is still a recognized textbook; and he encouraged the growing of seed potatoes on Prince Edward Island.

The Rural Reform Movement of that time urged the consolidation of rural schools into larger and more efficient units; the introduction of nature study, manual training, and domestic science as an integral part of the curriculum; the extension of library facilities to rural schools; special preparation of teachers for rural work; the foundation of secondary agriculture schools; and a link with the university. In the curriculum, nature study and elementary agriculture were to be associated with the school garden. Manual training and simple household science became important. Household science departments had always been developed alongside schools of agriculture. To find teachers who would train for rural life and cut themselves off permanently from city life was not easy, but the influence of Truro Normal School, MacDonald College, and Cornell University passed to the Manitoba Agricultural College and the new agricultural faculties of Western Canada. Another of those early MacDonald rural schoolteachers was Mrs. W.A. McLeod, who with her husband had a long history of association with farmers and with the co-operative movement. They were dear friends of my wife and me and with her my wife later was closely identified in the work of the Manitoba Handicraft Guild. Again one must note the influence of Ontario in this field. It was the first province

or state to station trained agriculturalists in local districts for full-time service. Five were appointed in 1907 and in 1911 five graduates of the Ontario Agricultural College were appointed, of whom F.M. Clement (later Dean of Agriculture, U.B.C.) led the list. Administrators and students and agricultural representatives often paid visits to United States colleges and districts and liberally borrowed ideas and methods. In 1913 the Agricultural Instruction Act provided for liberal assistance to supplement and extend agricultural education and improve agriculture. The Honourable Martin Burrell, fruit farmer of Niagara and British Columbia, later parliamentary librarian at Ottawa, in introducing the bill spoke as follows:

> Help given in an educational direction will mean not only better farming but better farmers and better and happier men and women. The particular form such assistance may take may vary with the special needs and conditions in each province. It will embrace the increasing of the efficiency of the equipment of our agricultural colleges, the establishment of agricultural schools, of dairy and horticultural schools of short courses and agriculture, the initiation of agricultural teaching in the public schools and work by travelling or located qualified instructors. It might well include the valuable educational work carried on by means of demonstration trains, the training of teachers in nature study and the invaluable work of domestic science concerned with the women and girls of our communities whose influence will always constitute one of the most potent forces in solving the problems we are considering.

This act enabled provincial government departments and universities to undertake extension work up to 1923. In 1915, Dr. W.J. Black, former president of the Manitoba Agriculture College from 1906 to 1914, was associated with this work until he accepted the chairmanship of the Soldiers' Settlement Board, and my old comrade, Milton Gregg, V.C., M.C., became his secretary.

Federal assistance to agricultural extension made possible much work in the early twenties, some of which unfortunately had to be abandoned when the act expired. There had of course been much financial support by federal and provincial governments for agricultural fairs and shows and demonstrations, agriculture and forestry illustration trains, and so forth. But the abandonment of the act was very unhelpful to the cause of extension. We should, of course, remember that there were many other interests involved in this program of encouraging better farming; for example, the Canadian Pacific Railway at that time had experimental farms and was well known in the show ring for its excellent livestock. Some ranches of

successful industrialists who liked to maintain an interest in land also helped to improve the livestock of the country.

There had never been a feudal landed aristocracy in Canada as in Europe and some feeble attempts to establish such an ascendancy pattern at Cannington Manor in southeast Saskatchewan failed. But capital did come to the West for investment in farms and much agricultural know-how came as well from the British Isles. Scots settlers in particular pushed their interest in Clydesdales and Aberdeen Angus. The rationale of agricultural development and rural social organization in Western Canada cannot be stated in parochial terms. The pattern was made by immigrants. The ideologies of religious and political creeds and influences from abroad were all about us as we dreamed dreams on this new frontier. A few of my Ukrainian neighbours heard some of the voices emanating from revolutionary Russia and talked of communal organization. But much came to us from the Middle West. Ames, Iowa, was well known for its agricultural research facilities, and Iowa State University was as familiar to agricultural students as Guelph and MacDonald College. Danish co-operatives, Danish folk schools, and Scandinavian educational methods were talked about and discussed. The flow of ideas from eastern Europe and through federal government agencies was brisk and uninterrupted. There was no radio, no television, so the printed word — books, periodicals, bulletins, brochures — was supreme.

Although it was a horse-and-buggy economy, there was no stagnation. There was constant movement as immigrants arrived, a ready crop of pupils, and in the main Canadians were tolerant hosts, with much Christian charity alongside some exploitation. Mormons brought their irrigation methods; German Catholics from Minnesota established a Benedictine-led community at Muenster, Saskatchewan; Father McDonnell tried for a Gaelic settlement; Barr colonists, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, German Baptists, German Lutherans, and a great army of harvesters every year from eastern Canada toiled and learned about the frontier. All these helped to knit Western Canada together. It was quite common in those days to find that your doctor or lawyer or shopkeeper had homesteaded. Perhaps as an example of the kind of influence from outside, one could cite the name of one whose name was familiar to all of us who read farm papers in the twenties, the Alberta farm leader, Henry Wise Wood, born in Missouri about 1860. He had prepared to enter the ministry of the Campbellite Sect, now known as the Disciples of Christ, of which President Lyndon Johnson was a member and originated mainly by a Thomas Campbell and his son, a seceder Presbyterian minister from County Down, Northern Ireland. This sect rejected predestination and

man-made creeds and welcomed all to the Lord's table, believing in the priesthood of all believers and in co-operative fellowship. This ecumenical approach came from Ulster and is of special interest in view of the way in which a rebellion against establishment and ideas of the rights of democracy and co-operative fellowship were carried to the United States by many Ulstermen. My old tutor in Ireland left orders to become a minister of the non-subscribing Presbyterian Church in Grey Abbey, County Down, where I visited him in 1917. There was a Unitarian and social gospel aspect to the Campbellites.

The agrarian atmosphere appeal and attitudes which encouraged agricultural extension activities, community development, and the refashioning of rural school objectives towards greater participation in the vocations and avocations of rural life coincided with the compelling need for rural schoolteachers with a measure of missionary zeal to live among immigrant settlers from central Europe. There could well have been a tragic conflict of old and new — of peasant and intelligentsia — the school for the mind and the farm for blind toil. Instead there came understanding; housekeeping and manual skills and farming knowledge were seen as important in the industry, toil, and rural life of the land. Immigrant parents as well as their sons and daughters saw that knowledge of agriculture and of housekeeping techniques could play a great part in the pattern of that good life which is the aim of literacy and competency in science, the humanities, and the arts.

It is important to grasp that in the non-English-speaking block communities of the West, particularly the Ukrainian settlements, the new schools of pre-war World War I days had difficulty in securing trained teachers and too often local school boards accepted teachers who spoke little English and were unqualified. These ethnic communities were largely untouched during World War I by the extension activities of the Department of Agriculture and universities, partly because of the difficulty of language. In each province towards the end of World War I supervisors were appointed to give their attention to these new schools, operated in conditions of great pioneer difficulty with weak boards of trustees elected by ratepayers, many of whom were illiterate. To many, the school was an alien institution that cost them money, and indeed in some instances there was hostility. War years compounded the difficulties, as so many settlers were too easily labelled as enemy aliens. Here came the new approach of a rural school with teacherage, a school garden, a teacher interested in the successful farming of the parents. The practical aspects of the new curriculum and night school brought better understanding of what the school should mean to the community, that it should belong to the com-

munity. Ira Stratton in Manitoba, Dr. J.T.M. Anderson in Saskatchewan, and Robert Fletcher in Alberta all endeavoured to root teachers in schools with some degree of permanence by teacherages, and if you read the headings of the chapters of Dr. Anderson's book, *The Education of the New Canadians* (1918), you get the drift of the approach — night schools, the school fair as a factor in racial assimilation, the teaching of English at the teacherage. The garden movement was correlated with manual training, and household science activities were fitted into the program. In vegetable growing most of the central European settlers could teach the Anglo-Saxon settler and the satisfaction of superior art work and manual training exhibits and garden produce did much to restore a self-respect that could easily have been lost by a minority immigrant group.

Dr. Anderson in Saskatchewan had a brilliant academic record, spoke Icelandic, and was a keen supporter of the curriculum of practical arts in the schoolroom and of the school fair as a means of display of workmanship and as a community effort. Later, as Premier of Saskatchewan, he carried the enormous load of the years 1929-34, in which he saw the tragedy of the drought and the depression. Just before his death in 1946, he wrote me about his visits to Slawa Rural School and to this he returned in memory because he had always disturbed our sleep in the early morning by insisting upon cooking breakfast. He could never seem to find the lid of the frying pan. "It seems a long time," he wrote me in 1946, "since my friendly visits to Slawa, since I lost the lid of the frying pan at Banff, or since the camp at Scouting Lake, Hafford. These and like experiences will ever remain green spots in a memory of happy days in the days and years that lie behind."

Dr. Anderson took great pride in his Ulster ancestry. He remained a member of the Orange Order, a somewhat unusual affiliation for a politician in Saskatchewan after World War I. Later I was to have Dr. W.J. Black as my chief and he shared with the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen and Dr. Anderson great pride in an Ulster ancestry. John Bracken, although not a Conservative at that time, had a similar origin. Many farm leaders, such as Tom Crerar and Robert Forke, although Progressive and later Liberals, were conservatively minded. Although agrarian in their approach to rural problems, there was a reservoir of conservatism throughout the West to which they appealed — not necessarily in the Toronto sense — but a conservatism which had its radical tinge and corresponded with the psychology of many Western farmers, to whom a political appeal later was made on that basis with some success. Much of this small "c" conservatism lay in the insistence of the farmer to be an entrepreneur and run his own farm in his own way, but at the same time he

asked that the state afford him the opportunity to band together co-operatively with respect to marketing.

A half-century ago, a conventionally-educated man deferred to his elders because they were older and accepted traditional values unquestioningly, but modern man has to be educated for insecurity and be able to innovate, improvise, and solve problems without precedent. The education of the twenties certainly hardly prepared the farming community of Western Canada for the extraordinary disasters which met them in the thirties with the depression, low prices for wheat, drought, and the extraordinary effect these had upon the whole life of Western Canada, but it cannot be said that they failed to meet this menace of insecurity and total disaster — for there was innovation, improvization, the solving of problems without precedent and to some extent reaffirmation of the values of life on the land, still a wide land and free.

4

EUROPEAN INTERLUDE

The Saskatchewan Government Paris Scholarship in 1923 amounted to $1,200, so my wife and I had to draw upon slender savings to meet rail and ship travel, but we had some advantage when we reached Paris because of the favourable exchange rate of the dollar vis-à-vis the franc and our determination to live as students near the Sorbonne. It was salutary to be obliged to adopt other customs, to be "étranger" in France and to appreciate what life is like when you are not in full possession of the language of the majority about you. I must abbreviate the account of courses at the Alliance Française, of phonetics at the Guilde Internationale, of the "Cours de la Civilisation Française" at the Sorbonne. I was lucky to find lectures on LePlay at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales. I submitted a thesis, was examined by a jury of three in public, was accepted, and received a Certificat d'études. I spent many happy hours in the Bibliothèque d'économie sociale in the rue de Seine, reading long monographs of family surveys by LePlay and his school. He was an engineer and had a naïve faith in exact factual analysis as a basis for reform, for example, listing all articles of clothing of the family with meticulous zeal. At the Sorbonne I was fortunate to hear M. de M. Ede Martonne of the school, Vidal de la Blanche in geography, M. Etienne Gilson in mediaeval philosophy, whose little volumes *La Philosophie au moyen âge*, published in 1922, I treasured, and M. Gustav Regnier on eighteenth-century literature. The structure of the usual lecture or "conference" in Paris involved development of the subject, followed by a final summary or peroration which recapitulated the logical or chronological approach. Always there was an awareness of the significance of past traditions, the search for the mot juste and clarity of expression, and an aesthetic, sensitive use of language. The text had been thoroughly prepared and cut to meet the time limits of the hour and the speaker usually sat at a desk to deliver the lecture.

In those days I saw something of the intense study and high standards of memory and analysis and sheer intellectual grasp demanded at all levels from the baccalaureate to the école normale supérieure where a man reached the heights of a normalien. The Minister of Education controlled the whole state-supported system in France from the école primaire (ages 6-13), through the lycée (ages 13-17), the lycée supérieur (ages 18-20), and then the universities. The école normale supérieure gave tuition, board, and

lodging to those who qualified for such instruction. The "aggrégation" is a final examination taken by those being graduated from the école normale and universities. Only a fraction pass the examination. These henceforward are known as "aggrégés" and candidates for doctorates are selected from this group.

There was no time in this scheme of learning to dally, to read carelessly and without aim, to become an amateur or philanderer or dilettante. So it is with incredulity that I read of student revolts in the Sorbonne and in the streets of the Latin Quarter, that I knew so well. In France the universities and the Collège de France, while free academically, had to submit to a tight integration under the educational set-up of the republic. In my day, the Paris libraries were far from full. Today the Sorbonne has about 30,000 students and its library seats 300, so perhaps the revolt of students is not too surprising, although such revolts are now common all over the world, as we have seen not only in Britain but in Columbia University and even in our own Simon Fraser University, an entirely new institution where we would hardly have expected such disturbances. Perhaps we overestimate the indoctrination of academic tradition, its attitudes and its freedoms.

In English-speaking Canada the paradigm has been the autonomous university, now so dependent upon public funds that the nineteenth-century concept of independence can scarcely be maintained. In Quebec the papal universities have tended to move into the orbit of provincial authority, but there is still the feeling that the university does not belong to the students, to the faculty, to the administration, or to the board of governors. Instead, we should recognize that the board of governors are really trustees of a university — an institution to be held carefully to its purpose of maintaining high standards, to search for excellence, and to ensure the competency in professional life of its graduates. However attitudes of trustee, student, or alumni to an alma mater may be formed or neglected, one must still reflect upon the perversity of human nature.

It is not always possible to foresee the kind of reaction any one course of study may produce. As a boy I wrote examinations and gained certificates on the subject of temperance. The education was quite detailed in its instruction about hops, barley, and distillation and the various methods by which spirits were made, but later in life — although stopped by diabetes — I can't say that that instruction affected my attitudes towards spiritous liquors. Training in the Methodist catechism and biblical instruction never seemed to have closed my mind to Voltaire and Rousseau and rationalist thinking. My Normal School and teacher training has left me somewhat sceptical of much that passes for pedagogy and educational psychology. My study of socialism and communism and my reading of economics never

made me accept with metaphysical awe the invisible hand of the laissez-faire myth or on the other hand the tender omniscient mother-state. The Ulster Protestant Methodist upbringing may even have encouraged my adventures in the reading of Catholic thinkers like Jacques Maritain and Etienne Gilson.

An example of what can happen when there is an intense ferment of ideas may be noted from the years in which I was in Europe. In 1923 and 1924 I used to pass along boulevard St. Michel every day and I now note that at 37 boulevard St. Michel there lived Simone de Weil, who was an agnostic in her youth and a pupil of Emile Auguste Chartier, the radical philosopher who wrote under the pseudonym Alain. He taught at the lycée Henri IV in the Latin Quarter and made familiar the antithesis between the bourgeois, who lived by illusion, and the proletarian, whose work immunizes against fallacious values. His students imbibed much of his leftist thinking and as a result Simone de Weil always maintained the need for manual labour and identified herself with labour unions and causes, but she gradually developed a religious philosophy akin to the Catholic faith. Another instance of unexpected upbringing and education is the case of the distinguished military critic and historian Liddell Hart. When I was on leave in Paris in 1917, I was a guest in the apartment above the Wesleyan Methodist Church on 4 Roquepine of the Reverend and Mrs. Allan. This church was established by Mr. Allan's predecessor, the father of Liddell Hart, who was born in this flat. True, he was educated at Cambridge, wounded twice in World War I, and emancipated himself from this Wesleyan Methodist background. The change into a famous military expert is still surprising and warns us that one can never be sure of the way in which upbringing and nurture may affect us.

In the Easter holidays of 1924 my wife and I visited Vimy Ridge, then much as I had known it in 1917. In London I was offered an appointment by Dr. W.J. Black in the new Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National Railways, as Continental Superintendent to organize and develop agricultural immigration to Canada from continental Europe. The new staff appointed by Dr. Black were for the most part university graduates, most of them graduates of the agricultural colleges of Canada. Two of my colleagues of 1924 were Mr. Austin Weir and Mr. J.S. McGowan. Austin Weir devoted most of his life to radio and broadcasting. He was head of the old Canadian National Radio and later of Canadian Broadcasting prior to the reorganization under Gladstone Murray and Leonard Brockington in 1936. For many years Weir was commercial manager of the C.B.C., and wrote the authoritative book on the struggle for national broadcasting in Canada. J.S. McGowan, graduate in agriculture from Manitoba, succeeded Dr. Black as director of the department and

continued to develop the work with great success. In 1940-3, I was to welcome his wide settlement experience, cool judgement, and organizing ability on the Land Settlement Committee of the General Advisory Committee on Rehabilitation in Ottawa when I was Executive Secretary of that committee. Mr. Weir had been associated with agricultural co-operative enterprises throughout the West and brought to his task as Director of Publicity a unique knowledge of Canada and of form conditions throughout Canada.

Both these men were associated with the development of correspondence courses in agriculture prepared for the use of intending immigrants. These courses were translated into the Scandinavian languages. Mr. Weir and Dr. Black also developed the Farmers' Marketing Tour from Canada, under which plan farmers toured markets and farms in Britain and Scandinavia in 1928. Then there was the Young Ambassadors Tour of Canada by successful British students who answered questionnaires appearing in a daily newspaper, the examinations being conducted by Professor A.P. Newton, Professor of Imperial History, London University. These were part of a more realistic pattern of publicity about Canada in which there was anxiety to paint an accurate picture of farming conditions and which emphasized not only its risks but the need for training and experience. It is interesting to note that the overseas settlement committee of the British government and the Department of Labour in the United Kingdom became conscious of this need and had Mr. Weir's help in starting the farm training schemes.

Canada as a northern country, had, in the case of the Scandinavian countries, a special appeal and its new national status was enhanced by its association with the United Kingdom and the British Empire and later Commonwealth. Canada then had no diplomatic representatives in Scandinavia or in most of Europe so we had to rely upon the British ministers. Great Britain was at the peak of its influence and these ministers were extremely anxious to befriend the Dominion and extremely helpful to me. There were Canadian immigration officers in Paris, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Dantzig, and Riga but with the exception of Holland their duties were mainly inspectional. In Germany, Austria, and Hungary pre-war anti-emigration laws continued to influence government administration, and in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia, although there was strict control, governments were willing to grant passports, especially to dissident minority groups. These were usually Ukrainians in Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia; Germans, Croats, and Hungarians in Yugoslavia; and Hungarians, Ukrainians, and Germans in Romania. But clearly it was necessary to encourage and select prospective and desirable

agricultural emigrants and this was done through the railway agreement with the Canadian government, in which certificate-issuing officers were appointed by Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific Railway in central Europe. Canadian National was fortunate in the calibre of appointees in Scandinavia, The Netherlands, and France, such as in Professor Grimley and Mr. de LaCours — Professor Grimley in Norway and Mr. de LaCours in Denmark — and equally fortunate in the men who were certificate-issuing officers in central Europe. Of the half dozen on my staff, I note Captain A.R. Milne (Military Medal), an agricultural graduate of MacDonald College who came to us recommended by Dr. Barton after service with the Soldiers' Settlement Board in Ontario; Mr. F.W. Baumgartner, M.A., a graduate in agriculture of a Swiss polytechnic who had farmed in Saskatchewan and had been on Dr. Skelton's staff as a lecturer at Queen's during my time there in 1919. Then there was the Reverend Dr. Frank Hoffman, a graduate of an agricultural college in Hungary who prior to the war had been secretary of several Hungarian enquiry commissions into agricultural conditions, one visit being made to Western Canada and another to Russia. He had lived and worked on farms. John Peters, M.A., was a Mennonite. Joseph Stentel in Holland, was a Netherlander who had toured in Western Canada. Mr. Ross was loaned by the Federal Department of Immigration. Then there was Mr. Jean Lanctôt, B.S.A., an arts and agriculture graduate of the University of Manitoba. All of us spoke some French and of course English and most of us knew a little German, but in the case of Mr. Baumgartner and Dr. Hoffman, they were proficient in German, French, Hungarian, and in Slavic tongues, with unrivalled knowledge of agricultural conditions in central Europe, particularly in the Danubian regions.

The unremitting work and efficient selection of this gifted staff enabled the Canadian National Railways Department of Colonization and Agriculture to settle many thousands of families along C.N.R. lines in Western Canada in the late twenties and early thirties. A fuller account of the methods and operations of this land settlement appears in the two books I have written on the subject, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* and *The Colonization of Western Canada,* so I need not refer to this in detail here. It was a great experience forty years ago to have on my staff so many technically trained agriculturalists, so expert in their knowledge of central Europe to select C.N.R. settlers, and it proved extremely fortunate for the reception organization in Western Canada responsible for settlement under Mr. D.M. Johnson, an agricultural graduate of Guelph and later, Mr. J.S. McGowan, already referred to. These able administrators not only were settlement and agricultural specialists but also developed church settle-

ment organizations to welcome and aid the new settlers.

The Canadian Pacific had been very successful in securing the entry of some 20,000 Mennonites mainly from Russia between 1923 and 1930 by advancing about two million dollars to the Mennonite organizations sponsoring this immigration. The money was all repaid. The C.N.R. also developed some Mennonite immigration, but they had no movement from Russia of any significance. However, the Department in Western Canada not only had a Mennonite organization but German, Lutheran, German Baptist, German Catholic, Czech Catholic, and Ukrainian organizations and particularly close links with the hierarchy and the Basilian fathers of the Greek Catholic Church. The Reverend Denzill G. Rideout of the United Church Office in Toronto visited many churches and villages in central Europe under the guidance of our staff, and his pictures and accounts of the homeland of settlers in Canada did much to awaken sympathetic interest in United Church congregations. Archbishop Prudhomme, Father Kryszanowski, Bishop Ladyka, and others visited Poland. The Reverend Bloedow, a Baptist from Western Canada, came to London and with me met the Reverend Dr. J.H. Rushbrook, General Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, who helped him make his itinerary to see Baptist communities and families in central Europe, from which settlers came to Swan River, Manitoba.

In the nineteen-twenties it was possible to move without difficulty throughout most of the countries concerned. Poland was then a country of 27 millions reaching from the Carpathians to the Baltic Sea at Gdynia near Dantzig and up to the Pripet marshes, with about 5 million Ukrainians centring around Lwow (Lemberg). Czechoslovakia had a democratic government still ruled by the great Thomas Masaryk, with Edward Beneš as foreign minister. Hungary was under a regent — Admiral Horthy — and his government kept up a constant agitation against the neighbouring succession states on account of loss of territory and of Hungarians in Transylvania, Slovakia, Croatia, and Galatia. Austria lived uneasily, but in Vienna there was still an afterglow of past greatness in music, opera, theatre, the arts, medicine, and literature. Yugoslavia under its monarchy had tension between Croat and Serb and Romania was finding indigestible its huge Translavian/Hungarian minority and its Bessarabian and Bukowinian-Ukrainians, while Italy had fallen under the spell of Mussolini and the fascists. There were opportunities to see and hear opera in the great cities of Europe and enjoy the restaurants of Brussels, Paris, Budapest, Vienna, Warsaw, and Geneva. There were vineclad slopes and crumbling castles along the valley of the Rhône, old hill towns basking in the Italian sun, the purple peaks and gloomy defiles of the Balkan ranges, the quaint

half-oriental villages of the lower Danube, Carpathian forests, Magyar plains, Tzigane bands, the bulbous domes of Russian churches, the crowded villages of eastern Galicia, the calm clear air of the cool Alps, the blue of Italian lakes, and the setting sun lighting up the Palace of the Doges in Venice as seen in the evening returning from the Lido. These were interesting glimpses and there were others — a wedding ceremony among Croatian peasants in the hilly country near Zagreb in winter when the toboggan knocked over the bridal party on the way to church and we were denied seeing the departure of the newly married pair as the priest kept them in the church until the arrival of the police hours later to make a protocol of evidence — time meant so little in the Balkans then.

And then I recall a dinner in a Lemberg cafe when my two companions were an ardent Russian imperialist and refugee on the one hand and on the other a Menshevik and former friend of Trotsky who disagreed about everything except their love for a very sweet wine called Mjöd (our word for it is mead), much used at birthday festivals by Jews in Russia. I was assured it had the ability to rob one of the faculty of locomotion but left the other faculties more alive. Then there was the visit I paid to the metropolitan of the Greek Catholic church, Count Andrew Sheptyzkyi, then bishop, a tall, bearded, impressive, and romantic figure dressed in black cassock and leather girdle who had suffered imprisonment in Russia and was revered and loved by his people. He lived in an old scarred palace with a cobblestone courtyard on a hill overlooking the city of Lwiw and I was met at the door by several small barefooted boys, refugees of whom he was taking care. And then there were the sad glimpses of Russian refugees, the remnants of Denikin's and Koltchak's armies, sad economic wreckage leading precarious lives throughout the Balkans and in western Europe. One day a figure came into my office in London, a curious refugee called Colonel Garibaldi, who like the dove sent out from the ark could find no resting place. He called on me in an effort to enter Canada. He was unable to return to Italy and after a political trial had been deported from France. He had arrived in England only to be given instructions to leave. He sailed for South America but no government could admit him for long without a passport. It may be of interest to remark that he produced a document to show that his celebrated ancestor was once a British subject and held an educational post in New South Wales.

As I look back I now realize how many immigrants from these lands that we helped had been disturbed by World War I and those who had remained on their properties had found that they were perhaps antagonized by the prevailing political regimes. To some extent this was their last opportunity to find a refuge and a secure future. The quota had closed in the United

States, which had been the traditional route for a century to free Europeans from their economic and political bondage. Now they turned to Canada, and it is some sort of satisfaction to know that in the twenties they were given asylum in Canada well ahead of the scourge of World War II forty years before the ringing down of the iron curtain.

Working in Cockspur Street, London, in constant touch with Canada House and offices of the Canadian National, I met in clubs and lodges such Canadians as Sir George McLaren Brown, Sir Edward Peacock, formerly of Queen's University, the Right Honourable L.S. Amery, Major Hughie Green, the "fish king" of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, Obed Smith, former director of immigration for Canada in London, Sir Ernest Cooper of Gilletts, Mervyn Brown, former mayor of Medicine Hat, as well as many members of the old C.E.F. who had remained after World War I in a variety of jobs from public relations to running a public house. The British Empire Exhibition in 1924 and 1925 attracted many Canadians to London, including many farm leaders, such as the Honourable Herbert Greenfield, Charles Dunning, Premier J.E. Brownlee, and later Robert Forke, whom I met for the first time in London. At the League of Nations in Geneva, the Canadian representative was Dr. W.A. Riddell. He and the Canadians in the International Labour Office were always hospitable and provided me with useful contacts and information. Dr. Oscar D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had taught me politics at Queen's, usually took time off for a lunch when in London to discuss what I had noticed in Europe and sometimes he introduced me to members of his delegation such as the Honourable Ernest Lapointe. The Canadian delegation often included Colonel Georges Vanier, later Governor-General of Canada, and as he always remembered our meeting on Hill 70 in World War I he invariably found his way to my office during his stay in London. Mr. Egan, the Deputy Minister of Immigration, made time for me to talk over problems and gradually through my visits to Canada in 1926 and 1929 and through my friends in London, I felt more confident in handling Canadian National relations with the continental countries.

In 1928 Dr. W.J. Black, my chief, the Director of Colonization and Agriculture, and Mr. W.D. Robb, Vice-President of the C.N.R., arranged that Sir Henry Thornton should visit The Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland to encourage interest in Canada. In 1928 Western Canada had a good wheat crop and the C.N.R. at last made a profit. To me was given the task of arranging Sir Henry's itinerary with the European governments, the national railways and national press of each country, and the steamship companies with whom we were co-operating. Sir Henry's reputation was at its peak and the heads of the European national

railways were anxious to meet him. Sir Henry, and Lady Thornton, who spoke German and French and had been educated in Switzerland, were in top form. I should explain that when Sir Henry Thornton had been general manager of the Great Eastern Railway in England, he had been instrumental in re-establishing the link between Harwich and the Hook of Holland after World War I and had become a director of the Mitropa, the German railway's restaurant and sleeping car company, so he was a particularly welcome guest in Germany. Throughout Europe his name was known and his railroad expertise respected. The book by D'Arcy Marsh, *The Tragedy of Henry Thornton,* gives a description of this journey supplied by my colleague Mr. Austin Weir, so I need not go into detail here, but as a result of what turned out to be an extremely successful tour, both Sir Henry and Lady Thornton always remembered my work and were very kind to me and my wife.

I was called upon after this to keep contact with some of Sir Henry's friends in Europe, one of whom in particular interested me. He was Charlie Cramp, the Industrial Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen and a colleague of the Right Honourable J.H. Thomas, whom I met through him. I came to know Charlie Cramp well and we often had lunch together. He and his fellow labour leaders were keeping an eye on Sir Henry, as there was some hope at that time that he might be induced to return to England to manage the nationalized railways in the event that the Labour government should succeed in having that operation carried through during their term of office.

In a special sense in all this I saw Europe through Canadian eyes while employed on Canadian tasks, in daily touch with Canadian colleagues and chiefs. Visits to Canada reaffirmed and emphasized my deep involvement with Canada and Western Canada in particular.

In 1928 I endeavoured to bring together an account of the Masonic scholarship project scheme in rural non-English-speaking schools in Saskatchewan and to match that experience with what I had learned by European travel and study of the homelands of the immigrants of Western Canada. This book was published in 1929 under the title *The Central European Emigrant in Canada.* It was well received in Canada and reviews were favourable; its message of tolerance was accepted and understood. There was, however, one exception, *The Morning Post,* an ultraconservative London daily, now defunct, which used some of the sociological data from the book in a leading editorial as a text to preach the very opposite message to that of the book. In my absence from London, it fell to my wife to rebuke the editor in a letter which was published in a subsequent issue of the newspaper. Hugh Eayrs of Macmillan, my publisher, agreed with my

objections to the editorial, but as a publisher seemed pleased with editorial attention in a London newspaper. The book argued against exploitation and patronization and concepts of racial superiority and political hegemony, and pleaded for reciprocity in cultural exchange, the sharing of the Dominion, better understanding of the dual French and British heritages, rural community development, and better rural schools. It endeavoured to describe the ethnological and sociological patterns governing the weaving of the coloured web of Western Canadian society. It rejected any form of assimilation that would destroy hard-won peasant values and defined Canadianism at its best as "an unconventionalised and optimistic view of life, work and manners, sprung from untrammelled contact with a wide new effort-creating country — a tolerance born of both pioneer conditions and the necessity of racial co-operation and a consciousness of our Norman and English heritage of order and freedom sufficiently deep to make life's ventures conform to the higher discipline of achievement."

The spot maps identifying areas of ethnic groups in Canada and central Europe prepared from statistics were the first of their kind to appear and were prepared by Miss Dorothy Wilford, geography specialist, who did many maps for the geographer Professor L.W. Lyde, Professor of Economic Geography at the University of London. I had met her through courses I had taken extramurally at London University on geography and economics. I was a regular listener at Kingsway Hall at Fabian Society lectures. I enjoyed the cultural opportunities of London and the early broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Charlotte Mew, the poet, took us to the Poetry Bookshop to meet Mr. Harold Munro and his wife and to hear poetry readings. Through Charlotte Mew we heard much of Thomas Hardy at Max Gate, where she was a welcome guest, and of Sir Sidney Cockerell of FitzWilliam Museum. We also met Charles Holden, architect of the London Underground and London University and visited in his home. His Quaker simplicity, integrity, and clarity were expressed with some austerity in the interior and exterior design of the buildings he designed and especially so in his own home, which reflected his genius.

In 1929 my wife and I were in New York after a visit to Canada and in Wall Street on the day of the stock exchange crash, I found Mr. W.C. Clark, later Deputy Minister of Finance, on this black day busy checking collateral in his Fifth Avenue office with the Strauss firm. The depression had begun and grim days were ahead.

Thus in the twenties, to repair the losses of youth and war, to mend a broken education, to acquire some degree of understanding and competency while earning a living, I could never take the world or anything for

granted. I moved as a stranger among strangers. I understood immigrants because I always felt I was in unfamiliar territory myself, and never could manage to be too didactic or dogmatic. I feared pedantry. Perhaps an early classical, mathematical, scientific, or ad hoc professional training would have relieved the tension between a sense of inadequacy and the consciousness of the difficult tasks of my unusual employment. At least I myself thought so, yet in old age I have no regrets that living for me had to be so closely linked to learning.

5

"EVERY MAN IS A PIECE OF A CONTINENT; I AM INVOLVED IN MANKIND"

Western Canada in the decade before 1914 greeted its immigrants with optimism and expanding opportunities — homesteads, land settlement, harvester excursions, new towns, schools, and churches. Newcomers were swept into unaccustomed tasks, which gave them a sense of sharing in the making of a new world interrupted by the collapse of the real estate boom before the outbreak of World War I. There had been sufficient moisture for wheat crops until 1915, and though great risks of crop failure were in evidence, the expanded acreage in wheat caused by war needs was nearly sixteen million in 1920, four times the wheat acreage in 1905. The twenties brought problems of wheat marketing, rust and diseases in wheat, rising prices of farm machinery and supplies owing to the inflation of a war economy followed by a recession. It was very difficult to recapture the invincible optimism of settlers, the determined grasp upon their new environment; and the sense of solidarity born of pioneer sharing of hazards of climate and farm life that made them seek co-operative methods of sale of their products and purchase of their supplies, irrespective of widely different ethnic or religious origins. In the first decade of this century there had been 285,000 homestead entries, over 80,000 by Canadians, 82,000 by Americans, and 50,000 from the British Isles, but there were nearly 10,000 from Scandinavia, 22,000 from Austria/Hungary, 6,000 Germans, 2,800 Doukobors, 4,800 Russians, and 576 Mennonites, the main Mennonite and Icelandic movement having taken place prior to this century. These pioneers from many lands broke virgin soil in new country under conditions of isolation, hardship, and deprivation, and were as much founders of Canada as any settlers in its history.

By the time I became associated with the Department of Colonization and Agriculture of the Canadian National Railways in 1924, homesteading opportunities in any reasonably accessible areas had largely disappeared. There was, however, considerable unsold and some reverted land of the railways and land companies, and much land in the northern areas, partially wooded, needed clearing. But there had really been no widespread setback to agricultural growth, and by 1928 the wheat co-operatives producers' pools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta had increased their sale

from 81 million bushels in the 1924/25 crop year to almost 244 million in the 1928/29 year out of a total crop that year of half a billion bushels. Meantime, throughout the West agricultural societies numbered tens of thousands of farmer members. Every settled district had its livestock exhibition, its school fair and seed fair. There were poultry shows, horticultural shows, and ploughing matches. The qualifications of rural schoolteachers had been steadily improving, while boys' and girls' calf clubs and stock judging competitions were active.

Late in 1929 Dr. W.J. Black invited me to become the western manager of the Department of Colonization and Agriculture with headquarters at Winnipeg. Sir Henry Thornton wanted me to remain in London but finally agreed to my transfer, and in January 1930 I took up my duties in Winnipeg. Several of the skilled settlement staff from the Soldiers' Settlement Board had followed Dr. Black, their former chief, into this department and throughout the organization there were many technical agriculturalists. The staff and organization that I took over from Mr. J.S. McGowan, B.S.A., had its quota of university graduates in agriculture and of former Soldiers' Settlement Board personnel. Mr. McGowan and his predecessor, Mr. Dan M. Johnson, B.S.A., had built up a remarkably effective railway department — a staff of about forty-five, which included six technical agriculturalists, of whom the most well-known names were Mr. T.P. Devlin, B.S.A., my assistant, one of the best Clydesdale judges in North America, particularly qualified in livestock promotion, known to every breeder in the west, his wife a medical doctor, both graduates of the University of Alberta. Then there were Mr. Duff Guild, B.S.A., who had had a notable R.A.F. career in World War I and many contacts in the co-operative movement and among farm leaders and was noted for a keen critical intelligence and acerbic wit; Mr. F.B. Kirkwood, B.S.A., an expert on land settlement, with a great sympathy for new settlers and for settlers of non-Anglo-Saxon origin; both these men were married to household science graduates of the University of Manitoba; Mr. Harry Bowman, B.S.A., an agricultural graduate of the University of Saskatchewan, who had great practical sense in dealing with farmers and who, after excellent settlement work at Prince George, B.C., became the Minister of Agriculture in British Columbia from 1949 to 1952. The Superintendent of Land Settlement, Mr. Fred Freer, was an arts graduate (honours in mathematics) of the University of Saskatchewan, and had had a successful career as Superintendent in the Soldiers' Settlement Board. He was later to take over a high civil service post with the Honourable John Bracken and finally to become a trusted senior officer of the Great West Life Insurance Company. (In 1940 he joined our Land Settlement Committee of the General Advisory Com-

mittee on Rehabilitation at Ottawa, but unfortunately in a return air flight to Winnipeg in 1944 he, with Professor Pete McQueen, was killed in a crash.) Mr. Alex Sinclair and Mr. Neil McGuire, who both had had long experience in settlement work, were in charge of the Saskatoon and Edmonton offices respectively. We had the support of hundreds of station agents who kept in touch by Canadian National Telegraphs, not only with respect to settlers but to provide detailed information from which crop reports, livestock movements, and farm help needs could be determined. Mr. D.M. Johnson had been the organizer and manager of the stockyards in St. Boniface; and liaison with federal departments of Agriculture, Immigration, and the Soldiers' Settlement Board was well maintained. Supplementing the close working arrangements with the passenger and freight departments and station agents, the Colonization Department was allowed to issue passes to colonization agents, who were usually men of standing or leaders of churches interested in community development and in settlement who worked closely with the department. There were also representatives of Lutheran, Mennonite, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches either working full-time or part-time out of Room 100 in Union Station in Winnipeg. The National Steamship Lines, Swedish America, Norwegian America and Baltic America, North German Lloyd, Cunard White Star, and Holland America were represented by well-known ethnic group leaders — Mr. Hermanson, for example, former Saskatchewan M.L.A., the Swedish Line; Mr. Myrvold the Norwegian Line; Mr. Carl Frank the North German Line; while Alderman M.A. Gray, M.L.A., the devoted C.C.F. veteran, represented the Baltic America.

Handling settlers' funds, we had a subsidiary company, the Canadian National Land Settlement Association, whose Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. John Wardrop, a nephew of Mr. D.B. Hanna, a former president of Canadian National Railways, with Scots thrift and vigilance, saw to it that expenditures on land, stock, and equipment had been scrutinized and that no dollar was lost or unaccounted for. Directors of the association were not only officers of the department but also Mr. Gavin Baird, the extremely capable Commissioner of Lands of the Canadian National Railways, and Mr. Dalton Owen, the Regional Solicitor of the railway. I took over a very efficient organization from Mr. McGowan, the staff of which worked more than forty-four hours a week. I would have been greatly hampered had I not had the secretary of the department, Miss R.M. Hamilton, with her decade of railway knowledge and her host of friends, one of whom, Mr. Stanley Knowles, M.P., became my friend too. Sir Henry Thornton asked the Vice-President of the Western Region, Mr. Bert Warren, to help me and he

did so generously, taking me as a guest on his railway car on inspections and having me use it to take cattle buyers from Winnipeg to Saskatoon sales and so forth. The Superintendents of Transportation and the operating heads in each province gave our organization every support, as did the other operating departments of the railroad. The C.N.R. at that time had developed an esprit de corps and a high morale and keenness in its staff which made work easier. New branch lines, hotels, radio, better rolling stock, bigger publicity under Walter Thompson, and many innovations gave us all a feeling of participation and pride in the achievements and in our tasks. Moreover, the provincial governments were friendly. I had met all the premiers of the four western provinces and two or three of them I knew well. The Winnipeg people had always welcomed strangers and my wife and I found them to be extraordinarily open-hearted and kind in welcoming us. Their generosity and friendship never wavered for as long as we lived in Winnipeg. Mr. John W. Dafoe, editor of the Winnipeg *Free Press* and the *Manitoba Free Press* in those days, Mr. E.J. Tarr, and Professor Watson Kirkconnell had me join the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and I came to know Mr. and Mrs. R.F. McWilliams, Marcus Hyman, and Mr. and Mrs. B.B. Dubienski. I was soon a guest in the home of Mr. J.S. Woodsworth, where I met Professor Lower. Most of the consuls of European countries had read *The Central European Immigrant* and they treated my wife and me as friends rather than as business acquaintances.

I was happy to meet again Mr. W.A. McLeod, Director of Publicity of the Central Pool Agency of the Wheat Pool. I had known him in Saskatchewan and in London and he and his wife were our closest friends. My wife and Mrs. Mary McLeod collaborated to revive the Canadian Handicraft Guild, with the help of Miss Bessie Bulman, whose family have always been a great support and comfort to us. The volume of work of the department in the thirties was varied and heavy. In the late twenties and thirties over 30,000 families settled in the northern areas in the prairie provinces, that is in the areas served mainly by Canadian National Railways. The provision of farm help, winter employment in the bush before governments were involved in placement, care of immigrant settlers, supervision of settlement, handling settler funds, agricultural development, and land settlement generally gave us a great deal of work to do. I have provided considerable detail with regard to the methods adopted in *The Colonization of Western Canada* (1936) in Chapters 5 and 6, and so have confined this narrative more or less to the subject which relates to adult education or to methods which might be regarded of interest to those in extension services.

There was a good deal of co-operation with the corresponding depart-

ment of the Canadian Pacific Railway and with the colonization officers of the Canada Colonization Association, which later interested itself in farm management. I knew something of this work and its influence upon the improvement of farm practice throughout the West. In 1929 we had formed with the Canadian Pacific Railway the Manitoba Livestock Credit Company, to which the railways contributed $25,000 each for the purchase of 10,000 sheep in Montana. Unfortunately, the high prices at which the sheep were purchased and the fall of the price level during the four years of the early thirties created some difficulties, but as a director of the company I can record that it was extremely well managed by Mr. Walter Crawford, one of the earliest graduates of the Manitoba Agricultural College, who later became Bursar of the University of Manitoba and did much to save that institution in difficult days and to promote its enormous growth in the period after World War II. Not everyone liked his brusque, hard-headed manner and speech, but he was shrewd, tenacious, and effective in management. While I took over my duties in Winnipeg in the early months of 1930 with some degree of optimism, I yet was aware of the beginnings of the depression and as the year progressed was confronted with its onset, which affected all of us. The summer of 1930 had been marked by the election of Mr. R.B. Bennett's government at Ottawa to replace the Mackenzie King administration. Mr. Charles Dunning had been defeated in Regina and when I listened to the return of the election with Mr. Walter Thompson of the Public Relations Department of the C.N.R. in Regina, I realized that changes were in the offing.

The prairie provinces in 1928 had harvested the largest crop in its history to that time — about 545 million bushels — nearly sixty per cent of it in Saskatchewan, but the summer of 1930 saw some ominous signs. From 1905 to 1917 the average rural school in Western Canada had operated less than 160 days a year with an average daily attendance of less than fifty-five per cent of the pupils enrolled. By 1930 rural schools were averaging over 200 teaching days a year and the average daily attendance had increased to seventy per cent, but in two years, 1930-2, the amount actually paid rural schoolteachers in Saskatchewan fell over 2 million dollars or about forty-five per cent. The average annual salary paid to rural schoolteachers, whose qualifications by the way had steadily improved in the twenties, fell from $1,030 to $506 in 1933 and as low as $430 a year in 1935. The Saskatchewan wheat crop in 1928 was valued at 247 millions of dollars, but the 1929 wheat crop had about two-thirds of this value and in 1930 it fell to two-fifths of this value, in 1931 to one-fifth, and in 1932 to one-quarter. Drought conditions, widespread total crop failures, and sharp declines in farm prices compelled relief measures on a national scale. In 1928 the farm price for

wheat was 28¢ per bushel, in 1930 it was 47¢, in 1931, 37¢, and in 1932, 29¢. In 1933 Saskatchewan produced its smallest what crop since 1920 and had the lowest average yield per acre in the history of that province.

In the 1931 census it had been found that of the 288,000 farms in the three prairie provinces — now just over 200,000 — only one in fifty-seven had water piped into the kitchen and bathrooms were rare. Rural telephones existed in most of them but automobiles had to give way to what was known as "the Bennett buggy", which was the body of a car towed by horses. Less than two per cent of the population were over seventy, compared with about six per cent today, and there were no old age security pensions or family allowances. Thus young families on farms not yet established, with heavy mortgage indebtedness, little protection in the marketing of produce, no crop insurance, and without much assistance were confronted with a great emergency. Largely a one-crop country, the whole country suffered when wheat failed. The production of oil, gas, potash, sulphur, pulp and paper, zinc, nickel, and copper on present levels, the electrification and mechanization of farms and the use of fertilizer and chemicals and wheat control, the community pasture, dams, and the South Saskatchewan irrigation projects did not exist. All these things came later, and to some extent were started by needs of the emergency, which brought into being the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act. Soil drifting was a stark and desolating problem, and there were then yet to be developed by agronomists and soil husbandry specialists, the methods of strip and contour cultivation; more sophisticated tillage machinery to replace the mould-board plough and spike tooth harrow which unduly pulverised the soil; mixing stubble and trash with soil to check wind erosion; and the use of cover crops and unploughed summer fallowing. Most farmsteads were without a tree or shelter belt. Today ten million trees a year are being distributed. The expansion of water storage areas, the reduction of prairie fires, improved tillage, and the natural growth of bluffs have left us with countryside in which it is difficult to remember the bleak, stark western landscape of the thirties with weedy summer fallow, loose soil heaps alongside fences and unpainted farm buildings — scenes which filled one with a sense of desolation.

In the northern area served by the C.N.R. there was the relief of rolling hills and bluffs, but the adversities and penalties of the depression were just as real although somewhat modified by the more self-contained subsistence farming of settlers of central European immigrant origin whose gardens, poultry, calves, pigs, and reliance on horse traction kept purchases for household supplies at low levels. Many of the older generation spoke and read English with difficulty, so the spread of agricultural bulletins and extension activities was hampered.

Early in 1930 Dr. W.J. Black had me accompany him throughout the West to determine whether a plan of community competitions could be developed to bring within the sweep of our Canadian culture and life the traditional skills, homecrafts, and handicrafts of our European settlers and to interest them in the services provided by our provincial institutions in education, health, and agriculture. As a result the Community Progress Competitions were inaugurated in 1930, and prizes of $1,000, $500, and $250 were to be made in each prairie province to rural communities successful in a competition based on a progress report according to an arranged score card. The regulations provided that the communities eligible were those having a resident population showing seventy per cent continental European origin, first or second generation. The community unit was the rural municipality wherever practical or wherever desirable. Units smaller than municipalities consisting of five or more school districts adjacent one to the other were also eligible; this provision was made to cover smaller racial groups. The score card emphasized education, the percentage of school attendance, the percentage attending secondary education, school efficiency marks for school library, equipment, layout, condition of gardens, sanitation, and so forth. As for agricultural development, there were marks for the general plan and appearance of farms and buildings, for the purity of crops, freedom from weeds, use of approved crop rotation, and for livestock, their quality, feeding, and management. Marks were also given for evidence of interest in public health or in community enterprises and in co-operative activities, and for the percentage of membership in swine, calf, sheep, grain, poultry, beef, potato, canning, and dressmaking clubs and the interest shown in agricultural fairs. There were then marks for handicraft and household craft and for home manufacturing and interest in cultural activities — dramatic, musical, social, athletic, and folk dancing.

In allotting points, stress was laid upon community co-operation and organization and the points awarded under agricultural development stressed relatively simple objectives and quality of product, rather than quantity. The standardized simplified score card had the advantage that over a period of years it became well known to community leaders and teachers throughout the districts concerned. Two ideas normally considered completely rural went into the project: first, co-operation in the community was stressed, and second, competition was between communities, not between individuals. No attempt was made to make the score card a scientific survey, it being felt that the defect of the survey method lay largely in the ease with which carefully gathered information could be forgotten or neglected. The score card was therefore a weapon, and such surveys as were

necessary in the process of scoring were carried out with definite objectives. The guiding principles were co-operation within the community, comparison of community achievement and standards with other communities, and competition to reach objectives as precisely and simply stated as possible.

From the psychological angle a community is the most natural and effective medium for the inoculation of ideas by mass suggestion and imitation. Group consciousness has greater weight on the mind of the adolescent than family opinion. It is essential to enlist the underlying racial, religious, and cultural motive force in favour of the program proposed. From the economic angle, it was realized that very little can be done with regard to agricultural progress unless the whole community shares in the effort to introduce weed control, the setting up of purebred stock areas, tuberculosis-free areas, and cow-testing associations. The strength of a community spirit in a pioneer district is its salvation. An endeavour was made to ally the direction of the competition with the leadership that already existed in the community, and it was obvious that in dealing with twenty-two racial groups, the majority of whom were Ukrainian, Mennonite, Scandinavian, Hungarian, and Polish, it was essential to keep in step with the community's cultural line-up. The constituencies covered by the competitions included fifteen entries from Manitoba, thirty-one from Saskatchewan, and sixteen from Alberta, making a total of sixty-two entries. The total European population of these districts was 149,612, of whom 4,196 were new settlers who had gone into the districts in question during the previous five years. The total number of farms in the entries was 36,393. The plan of scoring was to secure from the school inspectors through the Department of Education ratings for rural schools; through the Department of Agriculture records as to districts; through the various national and provincial co-operative institutions details of their membership and work in these districts; and through the Department of Public Health, the rating of public health for the district. Visits were usually made by a Canadian National Railways representative, often in conjunction with representatives of the Departments of Agriculture or Education to secure further data. A five-point scale was set up for the preliminary scoring. No attempt was made to make variations within the scale of excellent, good, average, poor, or very poor. The use of the scale objectively standardized reactions of staff visiting the districts and gave satisfactory results.

A selection having been made of communities on this basis, a final visit by the boards of judges in each province was made in August or September. In each province a board consisting of three was appointed; in Manitoba, Principal John MacKay, Principal of Manitoba College, later United College, Brother Joseph Fink of Provencher Collegiate in St. Boniface,

Mrs. David Watt, one of the heads of the Women's Institutes; in Saskatchewan, President W.C. Murray of the University, Dean A.M. Shaw, Dr. W.J. Rose, and Mrs. Violet McNaughton, who later received her honorary LL.D. from the University of Saskatchewan for her early work in setting up the women's section of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers; in Alberta, President R.C. Wallace of the University of Alberta, Dr. W.H. Fairfield, the distinguished head of the Lethbridge Experimental Farm, and Mrs. R.B. Gunn of the Farmers' Movement. In 1930 and 1931, Dr. W.J. Rose, later Director of the School of Slavonic Studies of London University, acted on the Saskatchewan board. These judges voluntarily gave unstinted time and labour to visit communities to make the final selection. It was the custom in most of the communities for the municipal council or community representatives to accompany the judges on a tour of farms and school and community institutions. Community gatherings were held, displays of handicraft and home-manufactured articles, and exhibitions of music and dramatic arts were staged. Folk dancing in particular at these events was notable. Towards the end of the year, the boards of judges reviewed all material available and made their awards.

Some results of the competitions are summarized in Chapters 9-14 of *The Colonization of Western Canada* and need not be covered here. What must be noted is the extraordinary enthusiasm and the welcomes accorded to the distinguished judges, who worked long hours in visiting schools, community halls, and farms, and enjoyed banquets and national dishes and exhibitions of folk arts. Agricultural and community development was given an impetus and the wise expenditure of the prize money in community projects had a multiplier effect. My work in the Community Progress Competition was fruitful in close friendships with the judges and the joy of working with such men as Abbot Severin of the Benedictine Abbey at Muenster, Saskatchewan, Father Kryzanowski of Mundare, Alberta, John Brandt of Edenwold, Saskatchewan, near Regina, Bishop Ladyka, Orest Zarepko, B.A., M.L.A., of Hafford, Saskatchewan, Mr. Siemens of the Mennonite group in southern Manitoba, and Principal H.H. Ewert of the Mennonite College, Gretna. Principal Ewert was a great believer in education among the Mennonites, had been an inspector of schools, and was the beloved principal of Gretna Collegiate for many years. One day he told me of the professional achievements, medical and nursing, of each of his excellent family but said that one boy had specialized in old French at Oxford which, he mourned, did not seem very useful. When in London in 1940 to establish the Canadian Legion Educational Services, I had a letter from this son offering hospitality to any serviceman I should send along to him at Oxford. He was then Professor of Romance Languages at Oxford, a

long remove from a Mennonite home in Manitoba.

Somewhat linked with the Community Progress Competitions were the beginnings of a back-to-the-land movement in Western Canada. One of the earliest moves that had been made by way of transfer had been of the Hutterites, a Christian communal movement in Manitoba who needed to take care of the increase of population in their colony at Elie, Manitoba, and turned to us to take care of their movement in Alberta. This hiving off of colonies is now the subject of some concern in Alberta.

As a department we had moved quite a few farmers from areas of drought into the northern areas and gradually this movement became important. Actually, the first financially assisted back-to-the-land movement occurred in Saskatchewan in 1931. It took place from some fifty settled Mennonite villages under the auspices of the provincial government and with the co-operation of our department. As a result the Mullingar district in Saskatchewan on one of our northern lines received fifty-six families from the Warman municipality, which had been entered in the Community Progress Competitions. These families were classed as surplus population and were removed into territory where conditions were more favourable.

Concurrently, the city of Saskatoon interested itself in the settlement of fifty-four families in the Lone Lake area, and the city of Moose Jaw interested itself in the settlement of seventy-four families in the Pelly district. The total movement of unemployed families in Saskatchewan under public assistance in 1921 was 124 families. Some small assistance was given this movement by the provincial government, but the originating municipality financed the transportation. Under the general dominion scheme authorized in May 1932, the dominion government agreed with the provinces to support the relief settlement plan on the basis of a three-way contribution by the municipalities, the provinces, and the Dominion, the maximum to be $600. The detail of this back-to-the-land movement in the three prairie provinces is covered in Chapter 7 of *The Colonization of Western Canada* and I need only remark here that many hundreds of families were moved — something like 3,000 families left southern for northern areas during this period of drought. Harry Bowman at Prince George in central British Columbia had been very active in agricultural development and in land settlement along the C.N.R. lines between Prince George and Hazelton. At the time when he was doing this work, there had been some concern in the railway management about the fact that the line between Prince George and Prince Rupert was very much in the red from the standpoint of railway revenue, and a hint that the line might be closed. However, we did our best through Harry Bowman to maintain a flow of settlers to the line as settle-

ment of this area had been interrupted in 1914 and had never resumed in the twenties. We succeeded in interesting a number of Mennonite and Swiss settlers, who found this area very congenial.

The resettlement and back-to-the-land movements gave pioneer communities in Peace River, northern Alberta, and Saskatchewan more of a mixed ethnic complexion than the "bloc" settlements, and though many must have had a hard time there is now little doubt that, particularly for the children, rural living was better than the hopeless misery of urban existence on relief. Some abandonment of land unsuitable for grain growing was beneficial, and departments of agriculture and agricultural specialists became more involved in necessary soil surveys, the improvement of tillage methods and machinery, the limits governing the production of specific crops in each region, and the provision of water irrigation and electric power. In our office we met many specialists and were glad to be of assistance to Dr. Isaiah Bowman, the distinguished Director of the American Geographical Society and Dr. W.A. MacKintosh of Queen's, who were co-adjutors of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, which produced the eight volumes of the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement series.

This series broke new ground in settlement history. There had been acknowledgements of the contribution of Ontario and French-Canadian settlers in the Canadian West, but it was rare to find any mention of the contribution of the Mormon in irrigated farming; the Mennonite in the growing of grain, flax, and fruit and their specialized economy of household and garden; the French Canadian in the social organization of his parishes and the maintenance of his language and culture; the Hutterite in the only successful Christian communism in the world; the Ukrainian in handicraft and folk arts; the Doukhobor in vegetable growing and home industry; the Hollander in truck gardening; the Czech's interest in social and athletic clubs; the German Catholic, whose solidarity, efficiency, and faith are notable in the Benedictine colony at Muenster, Saskatchewan; the German Lutheran who shared many of these characteristics of efficiency and organization and wholesome family life and high standards of integrity and industry as seen in the Edenwold community in Saskatchewan; and the Scandinavians in their folk schools, folk arts, and mastery of their rural environment. The Icelandic settlers, of course, had long been known to us for their mastery of fisheries, of agriculture, their ready adaptability to the climate and their love and creation of their own wonderful literature. Without these varied gifts and adaptabilities brought by immigrants from older countries, Western Canada could not have been effectively settled and its land won for agriculture in the space of a generation.

I had hinted at much of this in *The Central European Immigrant in*

Canada, but now with the material of the Community Progress Competitions, I decided that I should try to emphasize these contributions of the various ethnic groups to the settlement of Western Canada a little more explicitly. This I did in *The Colonization of Western Canada: The Study of Contemporary Land Settlement 1896 to 1934*, which was well received. Two very kind and favourable reviews, in the *Canadian Historical Review* and the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, indicated some residual hesitancy in the acceptance of my thesis. The late Professor Britnell after a kind review wrote: "Mr. England's generous enthusiasm for groups which have been all too frequently maligned in public discussions, leads him to underestimate the extent to which the central and east European immigrant has displaced the Anglo-Saxon and native born farm operator and to overestimate tremendously the speed through which assimilation is taking place through intermarriage." Professor W.B. Hurd at this time also reviewed Professor Dawson's book on *Group Settlements*, in which Professor Dawson had given some attention to the work of our Community Progress Competitions. Professor Hurd in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* (1936) reviewed Professor Dawson's book and my book dealing with group settlements and finished by saying: "On the whole these volumes leave one with the impression that God's in his heaven and all's right with the west which after all is the philosophical attitude to assume towards the many gratuitous mistakes of past settlement policy." I think perhaps the best answer to these remarks is to be found in a review of both these books by Professor D.A. McGibbon in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, in which he comments that Professor Dawson's careful examination confirms Mr. England's records of community achievement and that both studies together tend to allay any fears lest these groups constitute a genuine threat to the development of Canadian nationality.

The real national problem here was while slowly integrating these new settlers into full and reciprocal Canadian citizenship not to weaken certain ideals operative in their lives. In dealing with masses of people chiefly of peasant stock and poorly educated who suffer the added difficulty of not understanding English, public officials must be prepared to exercise great patience and to display a wise measure of tolerance instead of precipitately resorting to the police and penal measures. Attempts to use differential rates of intermarriage between differing ethnic stocks or delinquency and criminal statistics with respect to racial groups have faded, as have mechanistic displacement theories of immigration in the case of emigration, partly as a result of careful statistical analyses more objective in method and less parochial in approach. Even the barrier of religious affiliation or faith

to intermarriage has weakened considerably in these ecumenical times, and now that so many members of the Royal Canadian Legion, veterans of World War II, are the sons and daughters of immigrant settlers of non-Anglo-Saxon origin who had to fight in a war against a tyranny based on a racial superiority ideology, we can agree that "God has written a line of his thought on the cradle of each race" and that to obliterate or be contemptuous of such messages is a stupid sort of blasphemy. During my six years in Winnipeg with the Canadian National Railways I received much education from my excellent staff and from my friendships with many education leaders and visitors. We had a hired men's club, a discussion group at the office of Frank Foulds of the Seed Branch of the federal Department of Agriculture. It consisted of technical agriculturalists, agricultural economists, and men such as Dr. D.A. McGibbon, Board of Grain Commissioner. These meetings were a great help in my understanding of agricultural policies.

My wife and I took a prospector's course at the University of Manitoba under Professors Delury and Brownell and were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Atwood and Mr. and Mrs. Fred Siebert. Charlie was then Deputy Minister of Natural Resources in the province and Fred, in charge of Natural Resources Development for the Canadian National Railways. Both these men had had a scientific education at the University of Toronto. My wife made me join her in a pottery class and as president of the Handicraft Guild she involved me in many of her activities. I managed, however, to get together a class in statistics taught by Harry Darracott, later my assistant in Winnipeg Electric. Then in 1934 I became interested in the development of adult education in Manitoba. Dr. D.A. Stewart, head of the Sanatorium at Ninette (whose sister, Dr. Helen Stewart, made such a notable contribution to British Columbia libraries), and Dr. Andrew Moore, chief inspector of secondary schools, were both keen advocates of the Scandinavian folk schools and of adult education. I shared with them the inauguration of the Manitoba Association for Adult Education and was chairman of an enthusiastic meeting of about 200 people in the Parliament Buildings in 1934. I am glad to say that the French-Canadian wing of this association went ahead marvelously. Father d'Eschambault (later Monseigneur) and his colleagues pushed the Credit Union movement on St. Francis Xavier lines and had the help of co-operative leaders like Messrs. Hull, W.A. McLeod, and Ransome of the Wheat Pool. John Friesen was later to become assistant to Mr. McLeod and began his long interest in co-operative methods and community development before becoming Director of the Department of Extension of the University of British Columbia.

Somehow I found time in these years to read most of the French-Canadian

historians in French — Garneau, Ferland, Chapais, Abbé Groulx, and complete my work for a Queen's M.A., attend the Institute of Pacific Relations at Banff as a delegate, act as President of the Canadian Club for a year, address teachers' conventions as far away as South Dakota and the American Social Welfare Conference and Railway Development Association in Chicago, and help my wife in her work at the Good Neighbours Club. An office in Room 100 of the Canadian National Railways was convenient for visitors when travel was by rail and among those I met were: Sir Herbert Samuel, Walter Newbold, an engaging communist M.P. who had been a member of the MacMillan Royal Commission in England and had written a minority report arguing for a gold standard; Walter Nash of New Zealand, an apostle and pioneer of the welfare state; Tyrone Guthrie before his spectacular career in the theatre; the Greek economist, Professor Andreadis, an early historian of the Bank of England; Sir Alfred and Lady Zimmern, both fascinating personalities; Professor Gregory, one of the keenest financial minds in Britain; and Major C.H. Douglas, with whom Pat Carruthers and I spent a morning before his Canadian Club address.

The Community Chest and welfare activities and daily touch with immigrants kept me aware of the prevailing depression and its aspects of despair. Adversity hit our department too, as we had to reduce our staff by nearly two-thirds between 1930 and 1936. As all the younger members who were low on the seniority list were efficient and very flexible, I was able to co-operate with them in securing suitable employment when by the seniority rules their names came up for staff reduction. Two men over fifty with only a couple of years of service were not quite so lucky in the matter of re-employment; one had a successful farm and the other was financially independent but both resented losing railway employment, thus teaching me the lesson that loss of income or emolument by the prosperous or well-to-do or those of us senior in age is felt more keenly, perhaps noted with more exasperation, than by the young with nothing to lose.

Some of my failures of that time had an amusing side: I did a good deal of talking to after-lunch service groups and sometimes to boards of trade. Usually audiences and chairmen were kind in their thanks; a chairman of a St. James Board of Trade Meeting found a new formula in his estimate of my effort: "I will not say able but acceptable." There were other failures — I tried and failed to persuade the Men's Canadian Club executive to sponsor in 1933 a garden allotments competition among the unemployed. However, I turned to Mrs. A.F. McWilliams and Mrs. A.M. Campbell of the Women's Canadian Club and their executive sponsored the project with more enthusiasm and "know-how" than the men's club could have found. I was a member of the board of the Y.M.C.A. in dealing with what then

seemed an insuperable financial problem. I suggested an amalgamation with the Y.W.C.A., as segregation of the sexes was anachronistic, but my proposal met with incredulous surprise and was brushed aside without much ceremony. As the Vice-President of the Boy Scouts Association of Manitoba I prepared with a committee a memorandum suggesting that the dominion headquarters should consider abandoning the Baden-Powell South African shorts and sports shirt and hat and other vestiges of the South African campaign and replace them with Canadian dress — a type of ski costume or a warmer Canadian attire for winter, when most troops met, and I urged a thorough revision of the Scout Law, which laid too much emphasis on obeying *without question*. I thought that the military phraseology could well be pruned and the scout handbook improved, but I failed to elicit any enthusiasm from my fellow members of the executive. However, the scout movement didn't treat me as a heretic, for in 1940 I was guest of the headquarters in London and awarded the Silver Acorn by the Chief Scout of that day. I am glad to note that there has long since been considerable reform of the philosophy, uniform, methods, and procedures of the boy scout movement in Canada. So that I should in the thirties perhaps have remembered the biblical account of Absalom, who sought advice from Hushai as to a proposal. Hushai said unto Absalom: "The counsel which Ahithophel has given is not good at this time" (2 Samuel 17:7).

6

TRAVELING HOPEFULLY

In the late summer of 1935 President L.S. Klinck of the University of British Columbia called on me in Room 100, Union Station, C.N.R., Winnipeg. He said that my chief, Dr. W.J. Black, and others whom he had consulted had told him I was unlikely after eleven years to leave railway employ, but in any case, he wanted to tell me about plans for a new Department of Extension and he asked me to consider an appointment as Director in 1936. I was attracted by the challenge, but he agreed I should discuss the matter with my wife, whom he knew, and if possible I would visit Vancouver and Victoria in the coming winter. This we did at Christmas, saw President Klinck again, and at his suggestion talked the matter over again with my old friend, the Honourable G.M. Weir, then Minister of Education in British Columbia. As a result, the challenge of the new opportunity for adult education outweighed for us the amenities and fringe benefits of railway service. So on April 27, 1936, the governors of the University of British Columbia created a Department of Extension and named me as its first director. I was also appointed Associate Professor of Economics. The latter appointment was made to help integrate the director into the faculty, becoming a colleague of the academic staff. I welcomed, too, the opportunity to be associated with Professor H.F. Angus and the members of his department, whom I knew through the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations. It was helpful to me to be included in their seminars for senior students, to learn something of a department's relations with academic administration, and to remain aware of the content of economics, political science, and sociology which he and his colleagues endeavoured to cover in their lectures and discussions. "He who learns from one occupied in learning drinks of a running stream. He who learns from one who has learned all he had to teach drinks the green mantle of the stagnant pool." Moreover, we learn easily from those we admire. Certainly Henry Angus, endowed with one of the keenest logical brains in Canada, has been *primus inter pares* among political scientists, and has the good fortune to have the support and balancing magic of his beautiful, charming, intelligent wife.

It may be remarked that unlike the present-day university, the professional staff of the University of British Columbia at that time had grown slowly over two decades. It included scholars and scientists of undoubted

stature, some of whom didn't suffer fools gladly and had little patience with popularizers or with public relations personnel. I recall the remark of John Aubrey, writing of the scholar in 1680: "He was one of the assembly of divines in those days, who was like a thorn in their sides, for he baffled and vexed them, for he was able to run them all down with his Greek and antiquities."

Perhaps I ought to note than in 1936, I already had many links with British Columbia, as the province was in the western region of the Canadian National Railways administration at that time. I had spent much time with Harry Bowman in central British Columbia where he, Louis Lebourdais of Quesnel, and I travelled many miles from Quesnel to Hazleton. We usually stopped off for the night at the ranch of Charlie Barrett, a pioneer who had managed and guided pack trains on the old telegraph lines northward. A picture of sheep on the Charlie Barrett ranch appears in a German folder published oddly enough in World War I in 1916 by the Grand Trunk Railway, then appealing for German settlers, assuring them of a good future, and inviting inquiries to the Emigration Department of the Grand Trunk Pacific. Two of the names underneath the circular were well known to me in the twenties and thirties — Bob Lett, a colonization agent, and Bill Duperow, General Passenger Agent at Winnipeg. Through these central British Columbia trips, I came to know Harry Perry of the *Prince George Citizen*, later Minister of Education in British Columbia. It was he who many years later encouraged the successful entry of Harry Bowman into provincial politics as member for Prince George and Harry as mentioned became Minister of Agriculture in the province. I also knew something of the work of Dean Clement and the Faculty of Agriculture. Dean Buchanan had taught me at Queen's, and Dean Finlayson was a friend of Winnipeg days. Professors Sage and Coleman I had met in 1929 and Professor Soward in 1933. Harry Bowman and I had friendly contacts with the Department of Agriculture and Land Settlement offices of the province. I had known Premier Patullo and the members of his cabinet. I had met Premier Patullo's sister, Mrs. Foster of Toronto, author of *Our Canadian Mosaic*, in 1930 as a result of her association in Y.M.C.A. work with Mrs. Lewis, the wife of Dr. Lewis, a comrade officer of the Vimy Ridge battle.

I had also met Allan Peebles, Harry M. Cassidy, and George Davidson, who were, under George Weir, endeavouring to revolutionize the social welfare and medicare pattern of the province. And of course, Dr. W.A. Carruthers, economic adviser of the provincial government, I had known for many years, as previously described. Mr. M.E. Nichols, the new publisher of the Vancouver *Province*, was an old associate of the Community Chest group in Winnipeg during 1936 and in 1937 gave the

work of extension considerable and favourable attention. In the thirties I had been a guest speaker at the folk festival so imaginatively organized by Mr. J.T. McCay, with whom Mrs. Violet McNaughton, one of the judges of the Canadian National Community Progress Competitions, had worked each year. My department in the railway had contacts with much of the agricultural extension being carried on in each of the Western Provinces. When I had accepted an appointment to the University of British Columbia I at once spent considerable time with Ned Corbett in Alberta, then Director of Extension at the university and also with Mr. D. Cameron (now Senator Cameron) of the university extension of Alberta, founder of the Banff School of Fine Arts.

In May 1936 my wife and I determined on a voyage of discovery to gather information on adult education in the United States, Great Britain, and the Scandinavian countries, but first we attended many farewell functions in Winnipeg. I was greatly encouraged in our decision to accept the appointment in British Columbia by the luncheon presentation given us by the Manitoba Association for Adult Education, at which kind things were said of my interest in that organization by Lieutenant-Governor Tupper, Dr. J.W. Dafoe, President Sidney Smith, and Dr. Andrew Moore. I had been honorary treasurer and chairman of the radio committee.

It proved to be a busy summer for us, as I attended the Vimy Ridge pilgrimage to the unveiling of the monument on July 26, 1936 as a Vimy Ridge veteran. I also joined President Klinck and Dean Clement at Cambridge as a delegate to the Empire Universities' Conference. My itinerary of adult education facilities and leaders is described fully in a report I made to President Klinck throughout the summer and I must now abbreviate this account of my visits to the universities of Toronto, McGill, Harvard, and particularly St. Francis Xavier. The successful adult education work at St. Francis Xavier, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, was then novel and all students of adult education and of university extension were fascinated by the link between instructional classes and the co-operative movements and the economic impact of the adult classes that had been formed among fishermen and workmen in that region. The work is now well known and well documented and an accepted part of extension practice, but for anyone dealing with adult education in those days a pilgrimage to Antigonish was obligatory and it was both for my wife and me a very rewarding experience. The men behind this movement, Dr. Tompkins and Dr. Coady, were indeed remarkable pioneers. I found Dr. Tompkins in particular a very lovable and attractive personality.

The adult education movement in Canada, as in the United States, was becoming more institutionally conscious and I welcomed the establishment

of the Canadian Association for Adult Education under the presidency of Dr. Dunlop, head of Extension at the University of Toronto and the transfer of Ned Corbett from the University of Alberta to Toronto as Director of the new association. I became its Vice-President, and helped a little in the early stages of development. In New York, I met Mr. Maurice Cartwright and Mr. Ralph A. Beales, Director and Assistant to the Director respectively of the American Association for Adult Education, an organization that had been formed as a result of the efforts of Frederick P. Keppell, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. President Walter Murray of Saskatchewan had been a trustee of the Corporation, being chairman of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1934. This organization, that is, the American Association for Adult Education, in the quarter century of its existence before merging with other bodies to form the Adult Education Association of the United States, in its *Journal of Adult Education* from 1929 to 1950 and in the books published under its sponsorship developed many studies of the social significance of adult education, pioneered methods of discussion, stimulated interest in media communications, in counselling and adjustment services as a prerequisite of vocational training and job placement, and post-collegiate education and refresher courses. Its work was on a high plane, but somewhat remote on occasion.

Our new Canadian Association for Adult Education, while it emulated the older sister organization, had in Ned Corbett as its director a "grass roots" practitioner of the art of adult education. In Canada we owe Ned a debt of gratitude for keeping the Canadian association closely linked with such experiments as St. Francis Xavier, Workers' Education, Farm and Citizens Forum, the use of visual aids, the National Film Board, the publication of brochures on controversial public questions, the little theatre and drama movement, and the handicraft guilds and art associations. He was helped in much of this by such men as Harry Avison, whose work in Manitoba I knew, and also Walter Herbert of the Canada Foundation, whom I knew in Manitoba, and John G. Robbins, who came from the West, then in charge of education reports in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. These men all played a part in the early days of the Canadian Association for Adult Education. We were all aware of the particular pattern of the Workers' Educational Association in Britain and the Scandinavian Folk Schools, but realized that in Canada adult education must take forms that fitted the kind of society in which they develop. My visit to Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries in 1936 proved very rewarding and stimulated much thought about the whole problem. It confirmed that in Canada we must look for a great variety of types of adult

education, remedial, vocational, political, recreational, relational, post-graduate and professional and that the media would not be restricted to tutorial classes but would use radio, audiovisual aids, drama, the arts, new techniques of discussion and learning that would involve methods less strictly didactic or academic. Yet it was illuminating to meet and talk to such pioneers of the Workers' Educational Association as Dr. Albert Mansbridge and Professor R.H. Tawney.

Since 1874 in Britain the Society of Friends had operated adult schools, which I remembered often holding classes on Sundays when I was a boy. Albert Mansbridge in 1903 was a clerk in the employ of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Once again, the link of the co-operative movement has significance. Mansbridge wrote three articles suggesting that the universities interest themselves in workers' extension courses. As a result, the Association to Promote Higher Education of Working Men, with branches at Rochdale and Reading, was created and Mansbridge became honorary secretary. The name was changed to Workers' Educational Association in 1905. In January 1908, R.H. Tawney became the first tutor in economics to tutorial classes at Rochdale and Longton in Staffordshire and the pattern of three-year evening tutorial classes with university staff as tutors was adopted, the three years being spent mainly on one subject; in most cases this was history and economics. These classes were supported by national grants from the Ministry of Education. Residential colleges were also inaugurated. I visited Fircroft College at Bourneville, Birmingham, founded in 1909 by the Cadburys and mentioned in Dr. Foght's book on rural Denmark and its schools.

The Workers' Educational Association, Ruskin College at Oxford, and these residential colleges have made a vital contribution to the working of democracy in England, particularly to the economic instruction of the working class members of the Labour party. The tutorial class method of lecture discussion and written work in 1936 was the subject of examination by a survey made by W.E. Williams and A.E. Heath, *Learn and Live*, and it was clear that a search was being made for a wider appeal, a greater range of cultural approach, and a variety of media and methods. Mr. (now Sir Emrys) Williams was Secretary of the British Institute of Education when I first met him in 1936. He later was to head the Army Bureau of Current Affairs in World War II when I had his help in London with the beginnings of the Canadian Legion Educational Services in 1940; he became the first director of the Arts Council of Great Britain and continues in retirement his interest in art, the National Trust, and cultural affairs. Throughout his life he has been advisory editor of Penguin and Pelican books, and wrote a brilliant personal portrait of his friend Allen Lane (The Bodley Head), founder

of Penguin publishing.

In 1934 the first Life and Leisure pamphlet appeared, published by the British Institute of Adult Education, entitled *Auxilaries of Adult Education,* and written by W.E. Williams. It called attention to the Women's Institutes, the co-operative movement, associations for civic values, the British Broadcasting Corporation, societies for aesthetic training and musical activities, folk dance, and song. Thus in the thirties adult education had broadened, and active interest in the promotion of cultural activities on a wider scale than the academic concentration on economics and political instruction was developing. My wife spent some time seeing the work of the Women's Institutes and handicraft groups and we renewed our acquaintance with the night class program of the London County Council and the polytechnic institutions. Mr. Ernest Green, Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association (friend of Ernest Bevin), with whom I was to be associated later on the Committee for Adult Education in the armed forces in 1940, was extremely helpful in putting me in touch with various tutors and others active in the Workers' Educational Association. Once again, we spent some time with Professor and Mrs. W.J. Rose. With Bill, I met his predecessor as the Director of the School of Slavonic Studies, Sir Bernard Pears, and I was present at the Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House for an address by Paul Rénaud under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton. In 1940 when Rénaud was Premier of France, I often recalled the clear warning he had given that night in 1936 to this small group; he was certain then that Hitler meant war. I had known Germany in the twenties and in the short time I was in Germany in 1936 I was appalled by evidence of aggression, anti-Semitism, racial and national dominance, and ideas of military conquests that dominated the party policy of the Nazis. In England there was apprehension but the mood was pacific.

Charles Holden, the distinguished architect of the London Underground and of London University (married to a friend of my wife's), whom I met, had a typical Quaker attitude to international problems and to society, and was pacifist. His lovely plain-built home in Welwyn Garden City is described to some extent in a book by his wife, Margaret Holden, called *Near Neighbours.* The wrapper was designed by Charles Holden, the foreword was by Muirhead Bone, and the woodcuts were by Lawrence Angus. The Franciscan simplicity of this account of how their friends the birds were welcomed into the house, in which mirrors were veiled to protect the birds from fighting their images, is a most attractive picture of what to us was an unusual home. On the window ledge on the stairway was a bust by Jacob Epstein of Cunningham Graham; the doors had wooden latches; the woodwork and brick were matched with puritan simplicity; the same concern for

materials and line being seen in Charles Holden's home as in his great buildings. But his general attitude to the problem of war and peace was that of a great many people. I retained my interest in transportation and I owe to Charles Holden and to President W.C. Murray of Saskatchewan, who had served on the Railway Commission of 1931 and 1932, my introduction to Lord Ashfield, head of the London Transport and Underground System, with whom I spent an hour and who was kind enough to have his officers show me their operation.

My wife saw to it that I visited the children's clinics in which she used to work in the East End under the London County Council and heard at first hand about the care committees from Dorothy Pearce Gould, her former V.A.D. We attended the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art to see a Winnipeg student, Carla Lehman, in a play; visited the Benedictine Downside Abbey, introduced by Father Abbot of Muenster, Saskatchewan; saw an adult group near Southampton who still met to discuss the doctrines of Henry George and single taxation; met some workers from France, members of the Centre Confédéral d'Education Ouvrier in company with Professor R.H. Tawney, who told them the story of the Workers' Educational Association in Britain in French. We also saw Dartington Hall, Totnes, Devon, where Mr. and Mrs. L.K. Elmhirst had developed Mrs. Elmhirst's estate for schools, with facilities for the study of agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and woodwork. Here were a nursery, cider factory, lumber mill, handicraft shops and theatre, new housing, and an extraordinarily progressive and at points revolutionary development designed to rejuvenate if not to remake rural England. In 1941, I met Mr. Elmhirst again in Ottawa when he told me he had been compelled to restructure the enterprise on account of the war needs, but his Cornell University agricultural training, so reminiscent to me of the agricultural and horticultural approach to education of my rural schoolteaching days, was helped by the great wealth of his wife, some of which was used to maintain publication of the *New Republic*. In many of the colleges for working men and women and in Dartington Hall there was much that was analogous to the methods and ideals of the Scandinavian folk schools and the co-operative movement, which had also left a mark on Canadian adult education. My wife and I again visited Scandinavia and sought contact with Scandinavian folk schools, folk art, and the co-operative movement. Of this wonderful visit, I single out two items of interest. In Stockholm we saw much of Vår Gård, a school of the co-operative wholesale society, located at Saltsjöbaden, which had all the loveliness of a country estate and classes for staff and courses for leaders combining a high standard of practical instruction in retail and salesmanship with some instruction in economics and in co-operative methods and social activities.

At Roskilde Folk School it was amazing to find that the principal was an author and dramatist of distinction and that the school was used each year for an international course by the Theosophical Society of London, founded by Mrs. Besant. Good taste, books, superb cuisine, a high level of linguistic and artistic accomplishment — the principal's family in a natural way fitted into the life of the folk school. The physical education and practical curriculum made a great impression upon my wife and myself. Of course, it is difficult to transplant such an institution to another country or region where folk philosophy and folk arts are not indigenous. But whatever the form and expression, there is no doubt at all that adult learning is vital not only to human happiness but to the health, efficiency, and sanity of society.

7

THE EXTENSION DEPARTMENT, THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1936-7

In September 1936 I took up my duties as Director of Extension, the University of British Columbia, and was welcomed by Dean Clement and the Faculty of Agriculture into offices in their building, while Miss Margaret Youds continued for me the efficient and faithful service she had given to Professor L.J. Todd. The Faculty of Agriculture in particular had always maintained a close relation with farmers, farm organizations, and leaders and the staff were accustomed to extension short courses and lectures in agriculture and horticulture. Professor L.J. Todd of the Classics Department had managed the emergency period of extension lectures in 1935 and 1936 with a skill and administrative ability that certainly was a prime instance of classical training eventuating in a mastery of essentials — detail, academic curricula, methods, and lectures handily confirming what modern pedagogy considers to be the myth of transfer of ability or skills. He added to his classical learning keen insight into the attitudes of audiences and the acceptability of speakers. The university had been allotted $30,000 for adult education from the Carnegie Corporation grant of $50,000 and in 1935-6 a total of 893 lectures were given by University of British Columbia lecturers, of which 573 were part of the emergency program. Thus the university had become better known and was very much involved in extension activities. Professors were less inclined to feel distracted from the teaching and research of the institution. This great effort did not take place in a vacuum, because the night schools of school boards, public library lectures, the growth of regional libraries throughout the province, the vocational training development under John Kyle, the pro rec. classes of physical training under Ian Eisenhardt, the folk festival under Mrs. J.T. McCay, and a number of experiments under the leadership of the Minister of Education, George Weir, were already in existence. Summer schools and night schools at university, prospectors' mining classes under the Chamber of Mines, and vigorous agricultural extension under the provincial Department of Agriculture — all these drew heavily on university leadership, counsel, and instruction.

The University Carnegie Grant Lectures were successful and whetted the appetite of the public for extension lectures and courses, but the heavy

expenditure depleted the funds. The cost of the lectures was $25,103.38. As the new Director of Extension I therefore had to cut the coat according to the cloth — the small balance that remained. I was responsible to the President of the university, who gave me his enthusiastic support, encouraged my initiative, and sympathized with my dilemma. After discussion he agreed and received approval of a recommendation to the Board of Governors that all fees collected should not go into the central revenues of the university, but be held in the operating account of the Department of Extension and be administered by the Director using revenues from one account to supplement the other. Thus the grant to the department for salaries was kept separately and a more flexible arrangement made to enable projects to be undertaken and carried out with some relation to costs and fees and subsidies received from students' committees or from other institutions and governments. The first task was to win acceptance throughout the province for fees for lectures. We established a fee of $5.00 for each lecture but we provided that the fee for three consecutive lectures given by one lecturer would be $7.50. Between the end of October 1936 and the beginning of May 1937 two hundred lectures were given on this basis to an estimated audience of 12,350. My own lectures and addresses throughout the province were not a charge on the vanishing Carnegie Fund so I was very voluble, not only in several expeditions to the Okanagan and Kootenays on three-night stands but in service clubs, introducing the University Players Club's *The Brontës* in its tour of Vancouver Island and West Vancouver, appearing at drama conferences and alumni dinners, prize-giving at the Arts School, and speeches at parent-teacher meetings, the Dominion Accountants' Convention, the I.O.D.E. Convention, and wherever a useful word could be said about adult education.

The series idea was adopted in most centres. In Prince Rupert, under the Junior Chamber of Commerce, a symposium of Professor Todd of Classics and of Dean Clement of Agriculture, Dean Buchanan of the Mathematics Department, and Dean Finlayson of Civil Engineering certainly brought to bear on its citizens not only academic authority but a singularly astonishing variety of academic disciplines. At Nakusp, three-day courses were given on psychology in education by Professor J.E. Marsh and Professor W.G. Black respectively. Usually it was found that the audience on the first night might not be large, but after the lecturer had paid a useful visit to the high schools, imbibed coffee or something stronger with members of quite often in those days an isolated community, his second lecture brought questions, and the third was usually a full house and frank discussion affair.

The death of King George V in January 1936 seemed to indicate that an appraisal could now be attempted of the Georgian period, 1910-36. With

the Extension Committee in Victoria we undertook a series there of extension lectures covering the political, scientific, and social changes and the foreign policy of the period — its economics, poetry, great books, the position of women, the change in manners — with professors Sage, Shrum, Topping, Carrothers, Dolman, McLeod, Wood, Dilworth, Soward, Dean Bollert, and Dean Finlayson, and we published a folder with a reading list of serious works, adding: "It is suggested that this is a suitable opportunity to review the more important novels and plays of the following authors: Wells, Galsworthy, Bennett, Maugham, Walpole." This Victorian table d'hôte was designed to avoid the smorgasbord variety of disconnected topics and it says much for Victoria that it was swallowed without protest. I hoped to get a book out of the lectures, but Henry Angus predicted to me that I would be unable to have the series enshrined in this way. At the first lecture I introduced the series and found that Professor Sage knew what his audience liked and dealt with his topic of political change by anecdote rather than by stiff analysis of the constitution and political developments and I became resigned to the dictum of my friend Henry.

But in extension work, no one should forget that one of the most pregnant definitions of poetry, by the poet laureate, Robert Bridges, was given in an address to an audience of working men at the Co-operative Association in 1917. In it he maintained his scholarly approach to English diction and poetic technique. We took some trouble to get bibliographies from our extension lecturers, which we sent to the committees, and we gave Mr. John Riddington, the librarian, much concern when we freely used the standing privilege announced in the calendar of $1.00 per calendar year for extramural readers. This gave each committee the unrivalled opportunity to get books for one course for a dollar. We started a collection of slides on various subjects and invited tourist and travel series from shipping and railway companies and industrial sets from well-known firms. We began to store some films that had been put out by the National Parks Department Branch at Ottawa and made an arrangement for the use of projectors with the school board and other bodies which had projectors. This audiovisual section became a vital and important part of the work of the Extension Department.

In order to standardize and indeed lend some artistic dignity to announce the lectures, we had Miss Jean Auld of the Classics Department make a drawing of the library entrance and had this lithographed on a large card which left space for printing the announcement. We were hampered to some extent by the distance of the university from the centre of Vancouver and we ran some of our evening classes downtown. We were also glad to co-operate with Mr. Robinson, the City Librarian, in his well-attended series of

lectures, particularly as he paid the professors more than the Extension Department could at that time. Sometimes we managed to get a combination of study group and lectures. One study group was a working men's association which had for its theme "The Making of a New World"; among the topics were economic planning, racial prejudice, science, and society and the harmonization of the individual, and socialization and the international outlook, the topics chosen by the group indicating that each generation seems to have a new world to puzzle about. A group at Gibsons Landing had "Science and the Unfolding of Life" and among the topics I noticed dinosaurs, men and molecules, and the hunt for the microbe.

Two courses were given by Professor A.F. Barss (distinguished horticulturist, progenitor, patriarch of U.B.C. Extension. See Gordon Selman, Dean Eagles, and other historians of U.B.C.) in horticulture, and Professor E.G. Cullwick gave a course at the university in electronics. No less than 181 registered in the "Modern Approach to Social Welfare" course, which covered all current phases of social welfare problems. A course in botany given by Professor John Davidson had a very satisfactory registration and despite unfavourable weather at the time the attendance was excellent. The members of the Faculty of Agriculture co-operated with the Agriculture Section of the B.C. Electric Railway in a series of Monday evening radio farm talks. As a forum, the Vancouver Institute had its usual season and the University Hill Forum under the leadership of Professor L.J. Todd proved a successful venture on Monday evenings. I became a member of the Vancouver Branch of the National Film Society and appeared with a delegation before the City Council to secure their permission to run our shows of foreign and documentary films on Sunday in a theatre. We were helped in this delegation by the fact that we had the Reverend Mr. Constable, the Unitarian minister, as a member of our group. He was a keen leader of study groups. Mrs. Rogers of the Vancouver Symphony asked President Klinck to persuade me to go on her board and this, I as an illiterate in the matter of music, was unwilling to do. But she intimated that she didn't want a musician, and I found the Symphony Board was having its troubles with newspaper musical critics who discouraged audience build-up by merciless reviews of each concert. This was a difficulty which was not resolved during my period as a member of the board.

As to radio, I became Chairman of the provincial advisory committee of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and with Inspector Sullivan we took the initial steps in school broadcasting. I took every opportunity on the radio to talk about adult education. Our most useful outlet was through the Agricultural Division of B.C. Electric, which was managed by a U.B.C. agriculture graduate, a Mr. Bowman. The fall syllabus dealt with Great

Britain and her farms. There were pictures of poultry farms, Ayrshires, shorthorns, Clydesdales, Dartington Hall. Dean Clement, Professor H.N. King, Dr. Blythe Eagles, and I covered these topics. The poultry problems were dealt with by professors Lloyd and Biely. There was a letter contest which the folder states was made possible by the kind co-operation of the Extension Director, the University of British Columbia, which was assisting the Agricultural Division of B.C. Electric in arranging the program and conducting the contest. The prizes selected for the contest were first, an electric clock, second, a senior study lamp, and third, a junior study lamp. Even the prizes implied a message.

In agricultural extension, faculty members were indefatigable, particularly Professor Paul Boving, who not only had the merit of being a well-known technical agronomist but whose interest in handicraft and in the whole field of adult education derived from his Scandinavian background; he found it easy to talk on any subject of interest to rural people. As to workers' education, one of the most eager groups was a socialist, rather Marxian, organization run by Mr. Morgan, M.A., who ran the bookstore of the University and who was a devoted student of Marx and a supporter of extension plans. This group always wanted scientists and was rather distressed at economists and humanists. I found my visits to them stimulating though the run-down house in which they met was cheerless and the Marxian slogans on the wall didn't help the appearance.

We had visits during the winter from Ned Corbett, Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and Drummond Wren of the Workers' Educational Association, and with the help of Mr. Percy B. Bengough, the beloved and broadminded statesman of the labour unions and Governor of the university, we organized a branch of the Workers' Educational Association in Vancouver.

The Pacific coast both north and south of the border has always been and continues to be a prolific nursery of all kinds of social, economic, and religious non-conformist opinion. Socialism has not been without its aberrations since Owen and Proudhon and that early apostle of Social Credit and follower of Major Douglas, Alfred Orage, in the periodical *The New Age* could speak of it as "a cult with affiliations and directions now quite disowned with theosophy, arts and crafts, vegetarianism, the simple life. Morris had shed a mediaeval glamour over it with his stained glass windows from nowhere. Edward Carpenter had put it into sandals. Cunningham Graham had mounted it upon an Arab steed to which he was always saying a romantic farewell. Keir Hardie had clothed it in a cloth cap and red tie and Bernard Shaw on behalf of the Fabian Society had hung it with innumerable, jingly epigrammatic bells and cap. Some confusion reigned in the

Fabian camp, since the Webbs swallowed whole the propaganda of Stalin's Soviet Russia and Shaw eulogised Mussolini for his alleged efficiency and as the saviour of the Italian nation from parliamentary impotence and democratic ideas."

John Strachey's *The Coming Struggle for Power* seemed to be the textbook of many of the left-minded people at that time, but it seemed to me that, with this varied opinion, dialogue and debate on a bilateral basis emphasized the dialectical approach and abandoned the exploratory discussion in which participants could surrender viewpoints, modify opinion, openly examine their own arguments and defects and be receptive to the views of others without demanding a verdict from the audience. I had become interested in methods of discussion and was a student of Thomas Fansler's *Discussion Methods for Groups,* which had just been published by the American Association for Adult Education. In *Parent Teacher News* (1936), I tried to set out briefly what a panel discussion was about and I shall quote from it.

> In this method a group of four or five with a chairman discusses informally before the audience the subject chosen. There are several precautions to take in connection with this method. Physical conditions must be right. The conversation of the group must be heard without difficulty in all parts of the hall. The members of the group should talk to one another and not to the audience. Applause is undesirable as it interferes with the informal character of the discussion between the members of the group. There should be adequate documentation available and a bibliographer who can verify references and pass to the members of the group any item of information they may need. Obviously members of the group should have read the subject individually but it is wise to avoid preparing the discussion beforehand. Spontaneity is thus assured. However, the group fails if there is inadequate preparation on the part of any one of its members. The physical arrangements of the platform are also to receive attention so that each member is comfortable and feels at ease. They should be able to talk to one another across the table without any formality. It would be well perhaps for them to be familiar with the written works and mental processes of their colleagues in the discussion. This prevents much tiresome explanation of the speakers' point of view. The audience should be in possession of the exact subject of the discussion and explanation of the terms of reference together with a bibliography of the authorities which will be used by the group. A great deal depends upon the chairman keeping the discussion away from trivialities and upon his summing up of the discussion. Much injury has been done the panel

discussion method by improper physical conditions, by inadequate preparation of participants, unfortunate choice of topics for discussion and anxiety of the participants to win the approval of the audience, rather than to pursue the discussion as objectively as possible.

At this time, I was lucky to find an opportunity to use a controversy which had appeared in the dailies as to differing views on the gold standard occasioned by a monetary agreement between Great Britain, France, and the United States. Articles had appeared in the press in which professors Drummond and Day and, I think, Professor Carrothers differed as to the merits of the agreement. Professor Henry Angus agreed to be chairman with a panel of professors Drummond, Day and Carrothers and two businessmen, Mr. Walter Carson and Mr. Robert Bone. The Kiwanis Club arranged to abbreviate their lunch at two consecutive weekly meetings and we had the dining room wired with loudspeakers and microphones placed on the table, which was on a raised platform in a semicircle. We used trestle tables. John Riddington secured from the members of the panel details of any references on which they might call and he had the books together with the pages marked ready for them and sat below the podium, ready to pass the books up to them. No applause was allowed and Dr. Angus laboured to keep the conversation relevant, flexible, and brisk. The curiosity of the audience had been piqued by the public controversy between the academic colleagues and we had had circulated to the members a brief summary of the issue and some of the avenues to be explored. Despite the lack of preparation by the audience and the limited time for their participation, the experiment was successful and the press accounts stimulated use of the method.

Our next attempt was a panel which included Dr. Shrum, Dr. Carrothers, General Foster, and Professor Soward and dealt with the merits and demerits of the Passchendaele battle, and we again used the device of the bibliographer to enable the participants to refer to books on the subject and issued an explanatory leaflet to the audience. This brought out a large audience, including many veterans of World War I who wanted to hear the battle discussed. As a matter of fact, the discussion was more effective than fruitful, and lost some of its interest due to the gentlemanly attitude of the members of the panel. In both cases, I had had the members of the panel to my house and worked out the line of our discussion. The library tried panel discussions and I have a note of one of these of which I was chairman which suggests that the audience was too large and broke into the discussion with applause; there were no bibliography and no references. The members included Mrs. Dorothy Steeves and Professor G.G. Sedgewick, and it was impossible for me to get them to talk to one another. Both sought audience

reaction. Each stood up to make a point or offer rebuttal in the style which each knew best, and of course in the role in which the audience loved to hear them. Garnett Sedgewick had wit, irony, and an encyclopaedic grasp of Shakespeare. A few days after the abdication of Edward VIII, he was lecturing on Shakespeare and at the end of a scholarly exposition, he quietly quoted the lines which Anthony used while embracing Cleopatra as descriptive of the recent crisis:

> Let Rome in Tiber melt and the wide arch
> Of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space,
> Kingdoms are clay: our dungy earth alike
> Feeds beast as man. The nobleness of life
> Is to do thus.

No one can think of those days without mentioning the impact of Garnett Sedgewick and members of his English Department on the spoken word, drama, music, and the arts generally. Professor Freddy Wood, whose name is rightly commemorated in one theatre at the university, inspired students and members of the faculty with his enthusiasm and his knowledge of the theatre and of forms of dramatic expression, and laid the foundations of the university more closely with the theatre movement, and had the good fortune to be helped by Miss (later Dr.) Dorothy Somerset, then bringing to bear on the training of actors not only a first-class mastery of production and an awareness of modern theatre but her tact, insight, and charm, which were irresistible when non-theatrical, shy people had to be coaxed into appearing on the stage. Major Llewelyn Bullock-Webster, organizer of the school and community drama in the Department of Education, which had been started by the minister, Dr. George M. Weir, had been for a time an officer in my old unit of the Royal Canadian Regiment. He had had a long theatrical career, took great pride in his craft, was founder of the British Columbia Drama Association, and had done much to originate the Dominion Drama Festival. In spite of personal blows that death and the depression had dealt him, he played in life his greatest role — that "rara avis" in Victoria, a Catholic gentleman trained at Cheltenham School. It says much for both Major Bullock-Webster and Miss Dorothy Somerset that though hesitant and somewhat unsure of each other at first, at my suggestion they went together on June 11-13, 1937 to Invermere for a week-end drama school, taking with them trunks of stage costumes, make-up materials and supplies, and the texts of plays. They began their course on the Friday evening, continued all day Saturday, and on the Sunday afternoon in the grounds of the Lady Elizabeth Bruce Hospital, directed two plays, *The Chester Mysteries* and two scenes from *Julius*

Caesar. The successful performance climaxed the course, which was very welcome. It was the first such drama school held in a remote village by the Extension Department.

Miss Somerset continued to make the drama work of the Extension Department her life work and under Dr. Shrum and Dr. Friesen her talent and devotion were given room to make her unique and great contribution, part of the history of the university, duly acknowledged by the conferring upon her of the Doctor of Laws degree, *honoris causa*. Ira Dilworth brought musical ability to the English Department of the university and was for a long time conductor of the Bach Choir. The Carnegie Corporation made a gift of 1,000 recordings of classical music. Some were specially ordered songs of B.C. Indians; the music spanned a wide arch from the aboriginal chant to modern orchestration and included examples of plainsong, Gregorian chant, masses, oratorios, and chamber music with a library of 100 books illustrative of the music. Ira Dilworth gave close attention to the organization of these and a few recitals took place prior to the official inaugural recital on October 15, 1937.

We were given much help in our search for consecutive continuity in discussions and study groups by organizations throughout the province and I have to single out the Parent Teacher Association, which at that time was much under the influence of Dr. Black. We arranged with them to have a conference on education, Modern Man, Methods and Curricula, at the university for a couple of days and secured an excellent attendance. Perhaps indicative of the kind of subject material that was presented, I may quote the lecturers who took part: the Honourable G.M. Weir, "Modern Trends in Education"; Professor H.T.J. Coleman, "John Dewey"; Professor W.T. Black, "Leaders in Education in Post-War Britain"; Mr. A.R. Lord (Principal of the Normal School), "The Teacher and His Training"; Professor J.A. Marsh, "John B. Watson"; Dr. H.B. King (Technical Adviser to the provincial Department of Education), "The New Curriculum in British Columbia"; Professor C.B. Wood, "Modern Schools and the Pacific Coast"; Professor J. Wyman Pilcher, "The Place of Psychology in Education."

Not all courses were arranged with ease. Negotiations with sponsors and with lecturers and details of arrangements were of course difficult enough in the depression period with insecure tenure of teaching staff when undertaken by a staff of two of us, but Miss Youds laboured long over time-tables and I was happy to find that public opinion was favourable, but sometimes problems of public relations developed in government circles.

I paid a visit to the then provincial Minister of Agriculture, who had instructed his staff before my arrival not to share in agricultural courses with

university extension staff because he had been heckled at the end of a lecture by one of the professors of the Agriculture Faculty. I succeeded in getting this prohibition lifted by accepting personal responsibility for all that was said and done during our joint ventures. I had met this sort of tension among extension workers before, some of it caused by rivalry. It can only be dispelled by an attitude somewhat difficult to attain — generous submerging of personality, frankness of co-operation, and wider outlook. These are sometimes cultivated by unofficial social opportunities, meals together, and friendly contact, a remedy involving entertainment that was somewhat restricted by the austerity of those days.

The Vancouver Institute in my year was presided over by Mr. G.E. Winter, the well-known accountant, and new members of the academic staff were always conscripted to lecture on the Saturday evening. At my first try only half a dozen of us got over the black ice streets of January but at last on January 23, 1937 I had my say on *The Threat to Disinterested Education: A Challenge*. The address was later published by the Macmillan Company of Canada. The main burden of my argument was that disinterested education is the encouragement of the individual to call no work common or unclean, no service demeaning, and to claim his place in the world of thought and action with self-respect, courage, and a sense of purpose. This is humanism as wide as the human spirit. No narrow classical outlook conceived with Greek particles or Latin couplets can contain the essential breadth of view that goes with humanistic study. Art (agriculture is one of the arts), literature, music, history, geography, and social studies are typical of human interests. Any study that concerns itself with the values of life and produces greater sensitivity to the social being is humane. Mathematics when it leads to a philosophy becomes humanistic. Some knowledge is humanistic in quality not because it relates directly to man but because it liberates human intelligence and sympathy. Skill of any kind acquired without meaning or with a narrow pecuniary motive may turn out to be gross ineptitude.

I argued for methods of discussion, panel discussions, and seminars, and indicated that there was no merit in disagreement and certainly none in insincere advocacy of a point of view to which one does not adhere. "What is to be said," I asked, "in favour of the debate as an educational device or in an editorial display of extemporare sophistry, humorous sallies, slogans and catch-word appeals to the crowd?" Participants are often quite prepared to take either side equally if not impartially and clearly the truth may be half-way between. Too often the question is framed to avoid penetrating below ephemeral thinking. The institution of the university is for teaching methods of achieving a limited truth or temporarily valid hypothesis by the

limited means of logical and precise thought. That atmosphere should encourage easier surrender of prejudice, more prompt recognition of bias, readier recognition of intellectual and artistic achievement, humility of learning, a corresponding diminution of envy of the rewards and privileges of masters and scholars. It is doubtful if this climate will continue long in a monastic institution insulated from the world. Research is vital. The extension of the range and power and reputation of the teacher beyond the walls into the community has an enormous influence on full-time students, who realize that the university belongs to all and that they with the community and the Governors, the Senate and the province are but trustees of its values. I am glad to say I keep a letter from the Board of Governors appreciative of my statements.

In the spring of 1937, Mr. Gladstone Murray offered me a post in the new Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. His offer was backed by the chairman, Mr. Leonard W. Brockington, and the C.B.C. Board of Directors by a long distance call from Regina where the Board was meeting. But having leaned from Ned Corbett and Austin Weir of internal stresses, and feeling I was too uninstructed in the arts to be effective in radio work, I declined the offer. However, it turned my mind to a review of the work I was likely to accomplish in university extension in British Columbia. The Extension Department of the University of Alberta then had a budget of about $30,000 and twenty on staff; the University of Toronto Extension Department under Dr. Dunlop had a budget of $80,000 and was very successful in securing over half of this from fees. In 1937 an increase in the provincial grant to the University of British Columbia had to be devoted to replacement of salary cuts and similar overhead expenses. The budget for the Extension Department would thus provide little more than the salary of the Director of Extension and Miss Youds, his secretary for 1937-8. The Carnegie Grant was exhausted. There was a limit to fees that could be charged in view of the distance from downtown Vancouver, where the school board and library were entering the lectures and evening classes field. Some recovery of overhead cost by revenue from fees was possible but expansion would be limited. There would be a little more leeway if an established full-time professor could undertake the directorship in combination with his teaching duties, a difficult role but feasible.

From the personal angle, my visit to Germany had convinced me that war was inevitable and I somehow had an inner conviction that my wife and I, should war come, would want to do our part once again. But I realized that our financial resources were very limited if such an emergency and opportunity came. After careful consideration and consultation with President Klinck and the Honourable G.M. Weir, I accepted an appointment as

economic adviser to the Winnipeg Electric Company in September 1937 and a Professor of Physics, Gordon Shrum, was appointed Director of Extension, continuing his teaching duties while undertaking the task. He brought to the department unexampled energy, ability, and vision, picked up the tentative experiments that had been started and pushed the courses in workers' education, the drama program under Miss Dorothy Somerset, the various arts programs, radio, audiovisual instruction, evening classes, and involvement in co-operative organizations, farm and citizens' forum groups, the National Film Board, and the Canadian Association of Adult Education activities. With his keen technical skill and awareness of new media and tools he built up a formidable battery of physical material: books, pamphlets, films, records, printing, and duplicating equipment. After sixteen years, he was succeeded by Dr. John Friesen, who came from Manitoba and with whose work in community development and co-operative organizations and communities I was familiar when I was with the Canadian National Railways and engaged in the Community progress Competitions.

I had been during World War I an infantry scout officer and it was appropriate that I should have made a reconnaisance for the Extension Department followed by Gordon Shrum, who had won a military medal in the artillery and now John Friesen who had won a D.F.C. in the air force, bringing all attack aptitudes to the task. Our war service was a common bond but our education, training, and experience differed widely, contributing a variety of approaches to the development of the work. Looking back, I realize that my main efforts were a sort of catalyst in a post-depression reaction of public opinion which grew into a demand for adult education services. In 1939 World War II came as I feared, and my wife accompanied me to London in January 1940 when I became the first Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services. My ill-defined auxiliary status in that post provided no compensation for any injury I might incur since I was not covered by the Pension Act for Disability and Death owing to enemy action applicable to servicemen overseas. This risk would have been unacceptable for us had we not been able to save a little as a result of my re-entry into business in 1937, and on the other hand, the responsibilities I later assumed in respect of Veterans' Rehabilitation could not have been discharged without the experience gained at the University of British Columbia.

Under date of September 2, 1937, the Board of Governors conveyed their thanks to me in a letter of appreciation for the service performed and said: "it was not only this service to the university, distinguished as that was but the still greater service you rendered the Province of British Columbia in extending and deepening the channel of adult education. The Board is truly

grateful for the initiative, energy and thought that you gave to your Department and we beg you to accept our very best wishes for your continued success in your field of endeavour." On September 25, in acknowledging receipt of my report for the year together with the printed address entitled *The Threat to Disinterested Education: A Challenge,* the Board again expressed their appreciation of these documents and assured me once more that the work done was regarded by the Board as an extremely valuable contribution to the welfare not only of this university but also to the province of British Columbia. During August 1937, I made several speeches on the needs of the university as one who could estimate its value frankly. One speech to the Kiwanis Club brought favourable comment on the university from the Vancouver *Province* and in the Vancouver *Sun* Professor D.G. Sedgewick's comments constituted a postscript to the whole experience for which I was grateful. He wrote on August 5, 1937:

> We university folk are very grateful to the Kiwanis Club for giving Mr. Robert England the chance to say his say on the relations of town and gown. The reaction of the press to that speech warms the whole university body to the heart. Without exception local and editorial comment has been gravely and unreservedly generous to the cinderella at Point Grey. One regret both town and gown will share is that they will soon be deprived of the expert public services of Mr. England; neither of those ancient enemies can afford to lose him. As he goes away, we hope he will remember the story of the bread cast upon the waters and returning after many days. True, he doesn't see that the University of British Columbia is yet enjoying much return from its sowing, but we need not be despondent; the public reactions to his address show that the grain has at least well sprouted.

8

WINNIPEG, 1937-9

In September 1937, I reported to Mr. Edward Anderson, K.C., President of Winnipeg Electric, as economic adviser. I was welcomed to the city by friendly newspaper stories and editorial comment. I had retained my interest in and studies of transportation problems, supplementing this with extra-mural courses at Queen's on economic theory, accounting, and finance and by taking every opportunity, as in London, to meet and learn from executives of transportation companies. While in Vancouver, Mr. W.G. Murrin, President of B.C. Electric, gave me the fullest opportunity to explore with his officers, such as Mr. Mainwaring, the problems confronting his company, which like Winnipeg Electric had strong links with the Power Corporation of Canada, the Nesbitt-Thomson interests. The monopoly of B.C. Electric, without public utility regulation, had a long background of good management and highly favourable prospects, in contrast with Winnipeg Electric, which had been unable to pay dividends and was not only a regulated enterprise with tariffs subject to the approval of the provincial Utility Board, but had to meet the fiercest competition in transportation, electrical gas services, and the retail sale of electrical and gas appliances. The City of Winnipeg not only had an aggressive, successful city hydro distributing and producing electric power, but the civic administration had powers of licensing and taxation which affected the mass transportation utility in particular, and the gas and electric utilities to a lesser degree. Gross revenues from the railway utility had fallen from 3.7 million dollars in 1929 to 2.6 million dollars in 1934 and the gas utility from 646 thousand dollars in 1928 to 452 thousand dollars in 1934. There had been some improvement as a result of the financial reorganization under Mr. Edward Anderson, relations with labour unions and the public were better, and plans were being made for modernization of the street railway utility. When I joined the company the enterprise appeared to be viable.

Edward Anderson was a member of that group of well-known lawyers that Portage la Prairie produced at the turn of this century, such as the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, Chief Justice T.A. McPherson, Justice A.B. Hudson, and Justice Fawcett Taylor, D.S.O. Edward Anderson was married to the daughter of Judge Ryan, a Catholic who came from Portage la Prairie. Judge Ryan was at first opposed to the marriage but later gave his consent. Mr. Anderson's long experience as legal counsel of the com-

pany, his tolerance of all creeds, wide acquaintanceship, and sense of public service were supplemented by the Vice-President of the Board, Mr. W.J. Bulman, whose successful business career and personal contribution to public life as Chairman of the school board and to the National Education Association reflected a keen, innovating intelligence, appreciation of the arts, and unorthodox views allied with a persuasiveness that attracted me to accept the appointment.

Legal advisers to Winnipeg Electric in those days included my fellow alumnus of Queen's, Mr. R.D. Guy, K.C., his son (now Justice), known then as "Doc" Guy, and the late Justice Paul Duval, all of whom I knew and liked. The chief engineer of the electrical utility was Mr. E. Caton, well known for his undoubted technical competence, but I also appreciated him as a well-read man as familiar with the latest volumes on philosophy and sociology as he was with kilowatts, power lines, and depreciation tables. The days spent with him at the power plants remain happy memories, and the time spent in arranging security guards on the outbreak of war brought us even more closely together. My assistant was Mr. Harry Darracott, mathematician, musician, and Librarian of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, whose knowledge of the company and civic affairs was encyclopaedic and who helped me not only in the company's business but in various educational ventures such as taking a class in statistics and in broadcasting endeavours. The younger executives were congenial, progressive, and efficient, such as G. Sigmundson, L.M. Hovey, and Captain Queen-Hughes. I supported the modernization of mass transportation, the innovation of trolley buses, the issue of an employees' magazine with franker disclosure of financial results, and worked with the Industrial Development Board, the Manitoba Chamber of Mines, and the Board of Trade to attract new industries. I did what I could to help Mr. Harold Aikens, K.C., interest outside capital in a sugar beet project. In St. Boniface I was a member of the Cercle Ouvrier St. Joseph and still remained in close contact with Abbé d'Eschambault, the credit unions, Mr. Ransome of the Manitoba Wheat Pools, and Mr. W.A. McLeod, who was the public relations officer for the Central Selling Agency of the Wheat Pool. Nominally I was an employee of private enterprise, but the Manitoba Wheat Pool under Paul Bredt always invited me to their annual dinner, after one of which Premier John Bracken consulted me about an invitation to my friend, A.B. McDonald (for fifteen years Secretary at the St. Francis Xavier Department of Extension and then Director of the Co-operative Union of Canada) to spread his gospel of co-operative and credit unions in rural Manitoba, and this visit was arranged. My wife resumed her work with the Manitoba Handicraft Guild and her association with Miss Bessie

Bulman and Mrs. Mary McLeod, and I resumed my contact with the Community Chest, the Family Bureau, and other welfare bodies.

I saw no conflict between the interest of Winnipeg Electric and the province and was pleased that Mr. Cottingham of the Manitoba Power Commission was using Winnipeg Electric power to extend rural electrification. It is a source of pleasure to me that Ed Caton did so much for rural electrification, about which we talked so much. I realized that the viability of Winnipeg Electric as an electric utility was to be limited by the public needs of the province, similarly that mass transportation could not be divorced from the interests of the city. As to the gas utility, no one in the thirties envisaged the piping of natural gas from Alberta. I had the good fortune to know Clive Davidson, at that time engaged with Professor Grant in economic surveys of the province of Manitoba and from him and his friends of the Economics Department of the University of Minnesota I learned much.

The Rowell Commission on Dominion/Provincial Relations included Mr. John W. Dafoe and Professor Henry Angus and spurred much economic research. Dr. Carrothers and Senator Farris visited Winnipeg and compared notes with the Manitoba economic specialists about the presentation of the B.C. and Manitoba briefs. In the twenties and early thirties, distinguished lawyers, of whom those I knew best were Isaac Pitblado, J.B. Coyne, Joe Thorson, Edgar Tarr, and R.W. Craig usually prepared and presented the briefs. Now the political scientists and economists had their day, and the research papers of the Rowell-Sirois Commission Report were written in the main by economists. One of them on social welfare was by Professor Dal Grauer, who was in 1939 to be appointed Secretary of the B.C. Electric Company in similar fashion to my appointment and was to be President of that company in 1946 and see a two hundred million dollar expansion of its facilities. Dr. W.A. Carrothers paid a visit to Winnipeg before his appointment as Chairman of the Utility Board in British Columbia in order to see the operation of the Utility Board in Manitoba and he took occasion to visit the Winnipeg Electric plants and acquaint himself with the industry.

Premier John Bracken relied a great deal on economists as well as legal friends for counsel. Clive Davidson had a keen interest and full knowledge of grain marketing and the Premier came to the conclusion that it would be well to assemble in Winnipeg a conference on wheat production and marketing but chiefly on marketing; it would include farm leaders, the wheat pools, the grain trade, economists, and experts. He asked Mr. Anderson, my chief, to allow me to act as one of his advisers in connection with the conference. So I found myself with Mr. Leonard W. Brockington, K.C., who was then counsel for the grain companies, and Mr. E.K.

Williams, K.C. (later Chief Justice in Manitoba), as a steering committee to advise him. We usually met each day in the Manitoba Club for lunch. The conference was held in the Fort Garry Hotel. The three of us then had our meetings daily with Premier Bracken during the course of the conference, which turned out to be a useful exercise in getting all concerned to concentrate their attention on the problems of marketing. During the years in Winnipeg, I saw much of my friend Leonard Brockington and his charming wife. As counsel for the grain companies, he had an office in the Grain Exchange Building not far from the Winnipeg Electric Building, so there and in the Manitoba Club and on auto trips to the park, we shared accounts of our doings and of public relations problems in our respective companies.

In 1938 Leonard Brockington asked me if I would undertake a series of radio programs about the ethnic groups in the Canadian West based on Winnipeg. He and Gladstone Murray agreed to my conditions — no payment for me, a free hand, and the aid of dramatic and musical producers and clerical assistance. Miss Thelma Thomson, a former colleague of the London Office, generously agreed to help with the clerical assistance. I particularly welcomed this as she had helped marvelously when my wife had put on a Christmas party of all the ethnic groups in Winnipeg at the University Women's Club at the Fort Garry Hotel, which had been very successful. Harry Darracott, D. Claringbull (the local representative of the C.B.C.), John Kannawin, the producer, and Mr. Waddington, the Director of Music, gave unstinted assistance. We arranged to have each program develop a new approach and called the series "Ventures in Citizenship."

The opening broadcast was a discussion on citizenship, race and ethnic differences, and the problem of integration and assimilation. But we made the participants anonymous in order to get a sharpened, brighter script. John Kannawin rehearsed us fully and firmly to ensure that diction, timing of repartee, and argument would be effective. The four roles were taken by Alistair Stewart, later M.P. for North Winnipeg, "Doc" Guy (now Justice Guy), Professor R. Low of the University of Manitoba, later Deputy Minister of Education, and myself. We held meetings with each ethnic group and arranged the program so that it would best suit the contribution of each. For example, we had Scandinavian drama produced by Esse Ljung with Scandinavian music and illustrated material around key words such as "adventure," "saga," "symphony," "drama," "moral," and "mythic." The Ukrainian, Mennonite, German Lutheran, Scandinavian, and Catholic choirs were on the air perhaps for the first time. We also tried a verse-speaking choir under Miss Kinley. The singing of her group in particular brought me a letter of great praise from Ira Dilworth as one of the most beautiful things on the whole Christmas program. "The Salute to Pioneers" was an

experiment, too. It was a litany of thanksgiving written specially for the occasion by Watson Kirkconnell and appears in *Twilight of Liberty*, published by Oxford University Press (1941).

All the ethnic groups gave us their whole-hearted and enthusiastic support and the fan mail was large and laudatory. A typical comment was from the Winnipeg *Tribune*, December 17, 1938, which remarked: "'Ventures in Citizenship,' the CBC's Wednesday evening's broadcast, written by Robert England, and produced by Jack Kannawin, should go down as one of the too few examples of what can be done on Canadian radio. Almost every program has sustained an enviable record for production and originality and the series was one of the few successful attempts to combine education with entertainment." Two broadcasts have poignant memories for me. Near Christmas 1938, we gave the first radio broadcast from St. Boniface Cathedral, the bells carrying across the nation. Father d'Eschambault arranged for the ringing of the bells to be heard in Quebec for the first time and the Christmas carols in the cathedral, led by Marius Benoit, were a joy. Near the entrance we joined hearily in the singing in the historic old St. Boniface Basilica, later totally destroyed by fire with all its memories and associations immortalized in Whittier's poem, "The Red River Voyaǥur":

> The bells of St. Boniface,
> The bells of the ancient mission,
> That call from their turrets twain
> To the boatmen on the river
> And the hunter on the plain.
>
> Happy is he who heareth
> The signal of his release
> In the bells of the holy city
> The chimes of eternal peace.

The other memory was a broadcast of the Jewish contribution to Canada on November 9, 1938. At this time anti-Semitism and Hitler propaganda were active not only in Europe but in other countries. The State of Israel had not been born, the plight of Jewish refugees was known to all, but far too many were ignorant of the Jewish people and what they had contributed to Canada, and regarded with incredulity the signs of a coming European genocide. My broadcast on that occasion brought a notable correspondence from old comrades, from Jewish organizations, and from many well-known people across the Dominion. The broadcast was as follows:

> On Friday next we are to remember once again those who gave their lives for us over 20 years ago. I want therefore to recall tonight in a

few words the short military career of one whom I knew. I served with the Royal Canadian Regiment, which was brigaded with the Princess Patricia's, the 42nd and the 49th Battalions. During the winter of 1916, I met from time to time a young officer who was serving with the 42nd Battalion, the Royal Highlanders of Canada. His dark eyes, his complexion, his delicate features and profile proclaimed that he was a young Jew. His name was Myer T. Cohen, a resident of Toronto, who had enlisted at Dundas in 1915. I can well remember the chaffing of him by his fellow officers for his wearing of the kilt. The Brigade Commander, later Sir Archibald Macdonnell, used to say to him, "I can never let you call yourself McCohen until you learn to wear your kilt properly." Throughout the winter of 1917, Lieutenant Cohen established his reputation as a keen and brave officer. Some of my listeners will recall those days of drudgery and boredom in mud, wet slimy sandbags, bombardments, raids, trench feet, rats, lice, stand-to in the grey dawn and twilight, wiring and working parties and then out of the line parades, marching to the baths followed by the 9th April 1917 Battle of Vimy Ridge, barrages and fear and fury, the mingled smell of clod and cordite, death, disaster and desolation and eventually the top of the ridge. Lieutenant Cohen became one of the veteran officers of the 42nd Battalion, known for his courage, his initiative, and his keenness. On the night of September 29, 1917, Lieutenant Cohen with a party of one N.C.O. and seven men carried out a patrol on the front opposite Mericourt during which he encountered two enemy patrols both of which he attacked and destroyed, capturing three prisoners from each. I have before me the citation of this deed, gazetting the Military Cross which refers to his conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty and his magnificent resource in bringing in all his patrol after some hours in no man's land without casualty!

Cohen and his raiding party were placed at the head of the battalion during the march back to rest billets at the end of the tour and as the march passed, General Macdonnell called out, "You can call yourself McCohen now." In the official history of the 42nd Battalion there is a letter from the Brigadier to Cohen confirming on him the prefix of Mc. In August of that year I had been wounded and later in hospital I was to learn that Lieutenant Cohen was killed in action at Passchendaele. Fellow officers tell me that when his body was found, it was clear that he had put up a very gallant defence of a position known as Grab House at Passendaele with all the chivalry and courage of that very proud Battalion the 42nd Royal Highlanders. The official notice of the award of the Military Cross was dated the 19th November 1917, two weeks

> after another notice: killed in action. I wish I could immortalize this exploit as J.M. Barrie did that of Captain Friedburg, another of his race, in his great address on "Courage." He is one of a gallant company including five other Jewish V.C.'s. The name of Lieutenant Myer Cohen is to be found in the roll of honour in the memorial chamber of the Peace Tower in Ottawa but there is another place where his name is remembered. In the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, there is a significant memorial window, said to be one of the finest in Canada dedicated to the 42nd Battalion. In the window, above the head of David, the warrior king is a six-pointed star of David, deliberately inserted in honour of Lieutenant Cohen — a tribute to the memory of a gallant young Jew, who, sharing the high and chivalrous traditions of a proud and great regiment, gave all he had for Canada.

I particularly welcomed the letters I received from Leonard Brockington, chairman of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Carl Goldenberg, who was then engaged on an enquiry into the financial condition of Winnipeg.

In 1918, I was a trustee of the La Vérendrye Monument Fund in St. Boniface when under the leadership of Father Antoine d'Eschambault we had a monument erected, held a historical pageant each night for a week in the Winnipeg auditorium, and had days of friendly contact with an impressive Quebec delegation that came to the unveiling of the monument. At the dinner in the Fort Garry Hotel where we welcomed the delegation, I made my speech in French. It was somewhat easier to keep up French in the thirties, when contacts with St. Boniface were easy and convivial than in a province such as British Columbia which is overwhelmingly English-speaking. I accompanied Wilfred Bovey and George Bouchard to their lectures in St. Boniface and I am sure there was little controversy or strain in the relations between St. Boniface and Winnipeg. Mrs. R.F. McWilliams, the first woman to become an alderman in the City of Winnipeg and later chatelaine of Government House, maintained friendly relations with Father d'Eschambault and with French-Canadian leaders. Mrs. McWilliams always had a project in hand and was keen on seeing that her friends did their share to make each project a success. I recall that she had a gathering in her house to start the Manitoba Health Services Association, the Blue Cross. I thought for a moment that this meeting was simply an exploratory meeting, but it wasn't long until she asked us to share in a fund to guarantee against loss. This amount was held by Mr. A.L. Crossen for some years until the project's success was assured. Later on in war days when I was reorganizing the citizenship branch, Mrs. McWilliams, on one of my visits

to Winnipeg, insisted that I go to lunch. When I demurred that I would be unable to leave at my own time to meet my afternoon appointments, she solved that by making me the only guest, seating me in front of a clock after lunch and sending me in the nick of time to my first appointment in the lieutenant-governor's car with instructions to the chauffeur that he was to take me to all my appointments that afternoon.

In the thirties, service clubs and annual dinners of all organizations had an unusual variety of speakers, apart from politicians and preachers to call on. There were Mr. and Mrs. R.F. McWilliams, E.K. Williams, L.W. Brockington, Marcus Hyman, Sidney Smith, and Principal Graham of United College, as well as the professors of the university and United College, such as Professor Lower, Professor Fieldhouse, and the vigorous Professor Osborne of the French Department. The Technical Agriculturalist Group, consisting of graduates of the Agricultural Colleges, solved their problem of selection by having a three-way conversation, at the suggestion of Leonard Brockington, between Sidney Smith, Leonard Brockington, and myself and as we knew one another well we were able to poke fun unmercifully at each other, to the delight of the audience. Sidney Smith was at the top of his form in those days, building the university afresh, and enjoyed an uninhibited social evening. Justice Dysart and his sister Miss Ann Dysart understood this and their New Year's party consisted of their brother, Sidney and Mrs. Smith and Biff McTavish, the editor of the *Tribune* and his wife, and my wife and me. Soon Biff was moved to Vancouver to edit the *Vancouver Province* and the *Tribune* brought to Winnipeg Mr. and Mrs. John Bird, whom I came to know; both became national figures in Canada.

The fateful year of 1939 brought us the first royal visit to Canada of George VI and Queen Elizabeth. With Dr. D.S. Woods I collaborated with the committee planning the itinerary and arranging the many details for the Winnipeg visit. We were hampered by the inflexible protocol of Ottawa, which wouldn't even sanction the presentation of Harold Stassen, then Governor of Minnesota, who turned up for the occasion. The late Professor Milton Osborne of the Art and Architecture Department of the university was a friend of mine and I was very glad the committee turned to him to have his department and Professor Russell arrange for the design of the banners and decorations, particularly on the mall leading to the Parliament Buildings. They succeeded by standardizing the form of banner on poles throughout the city in giving dignity and colour to a great occasion. At Deer Lodge Hospital the chauffeur of the royal car entered by the wrong gate and the stop with the patients was omitted. This was corrected eventually by a stopover by the royal party on their return journey from the West at the C.N.R. station. It says much for the discipline of those times that I under-

took with Premier Bracken to see that the Winnipeg Electric buses would carry all the patients and attending nurses to the station without premature disclosure. Vice-President Dahl of the company managed to find servicemen among the drivers who came prepared with their medals on and kept the secret of their mobilization.

This participation of ethnic groups on the radio and in community endeavours and the outpouring of community spirit during the royal visit indicated that Western Canada had moulded its people into an integrated society able to meet the emergencies of the future. Folk art, folk music, and folklore are at the roots of much European music and art, but we need special occasions to give meaning to these parts of our Western life. Ceremonial and historic occasions and anniversaries weaving past history into present consciousness as seen in the La Vérendrye monument and in the outbursts of loyalty and esteem of the royal visit of 1939 are useful outlets for the display of traditional talents.

On September 3, 1939 war was declared by Great Britain and France on Germany when German forces invaded Poland on September 1. On the night of September 3, I was to address a joint Canadian-United States Legion gathering at Devil's Lake, North Dakota. Misses Bessie and Dorothy Bulman and my wife accompanied me to the gathering, where I had to make a speech recalling comrades lost in World War I and yet avoid any too overt references to the new outbreak while Canada and the United States were still neutral. We returned after midnight to learn that the *S.S. Athenia* had been torpedoed by a German submarine with the loss of 112 lives. On September 10, Canada declared a state of war with Germany and soon preparations were made to mobilize and to send two divisions overseas. I was still on the reserve of officers but knew that my war disabilities of World War I would preclude service overseas in an active unit, however indulgently medical examiners were to treat my application. A letter from Colonel Grant indicated no need for my services at that point.

The war brought much community work and I found myself co-opted onto a committee consisting of Victor Sifton, president of the Winnipeg Red Cross, and Messrs. McKenzie, Joseph Harris, and James Murray to organize the Red Cross campaign. I was, with Joe Harris, responsible for the auditorium rally and for the arrangements of the program, in which Leonard Brockington was the speaker. We raised $263,000, which at that time was thought remarkable. In the fall I was involved with a committee in planning a series of evening lectures for the troops. This committee was representative of the military district, of educational establishments, and of the Canadian Legion and met regularly under the chairmanship of President Sidney Smith. At the request of the Canadian Association for Adult Educa-

tion and the Education Committee of the Canadian Legion, both of which bodies were at that time presided over by Colonel Wilfred Bovey, the committee struck off a subcommittee to draft a plan of adult education for servicemen overseas. I was Chairman of that committee and was happy to have as committee members Principal Graham of United College and Major Fuller, Superintendent of the Soldiers' Settlement Board. Our subcommittee submitted for approval "A Memorandum on a Project Intitiated by the Canadian Association for Adult Education and a Committee of the Canadian Legion to Provide Educational Facilities for Canadian Armed Forces Abroad." Our terms of reference instructed us to express a judgement on the feasibility and worth of the project, to outline objectives, to classify the constituencies to be served, and to give general suggestions on the organization and direction of the service and on teaching personnel, on types of education to be engaged in, and on the educational methods and facilities to be employed. The memorandum appears as Appendix A in my book *Discharged*. It met the request of the committee fully. I am glad to say that the report was endorsed unanimously by the Winnipeg committee and forwarded to the Canadian Legion War Services, which endorsed it at its meeting on November 21, 1939. Colonel Wilfred Bovey, the Chairman, wrote me from Ottawa: "I am glad but not surprised that the scheme for the overseas section as presented by the Winnipeg Committee met with great enthusiasm at the meeting of the directors."

Meantime, a deputation representative of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, the Manitoba Chamber of Mines, the Industrial Development Board, the Employers' Association, and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (Winnipeg Branch) called on me and insisted I should let my name be suggested to the Honourable Mr. Ralston, Minister of Finance, as a probable nominee for appointment to the War Supplies Board. My chief, Mr. Anderson, supported their plea, but before anyone could take much action other than a delegation of nine submitting my name to the minister, the Canadian Legion War Services Director offered me the post of first Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services to carry out the report of the Winnipeg Committee. The Minister of Defence, Mr. Norman Rogers, approved the project and welcomed my appointment. The president of the Winnipeg Electric Company agreed generously to release me from my contract of service. I was able to find time to put together at his suggestion a frank report on the organization, financial situation, and outlook of the company. I am glad to say its reasonably optimistic forecast was justified during the next few years, though the rise in revenue was owing in great part to the stimulus of the war effort. It was also clear to me that in the long run, the electrical utility would come under the public ownership of the provincial

government and the mass transportation utility after suffering many vicissitudes would find a similar solution vis-à-vis Greater Winnipeg.

On December 31, 1939, therefore, Leonard Brockington and I took the train together to Ottawa, he to be assistant to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, and I to take duty as Director of the new Canadian Legion Educational Services Overseas. "Brock" was very apprehensive and remarked, "I feel like a new boy going to school for the first time." That expressed my feeling, too.

9

THE CANADIAN LEGION EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

I first met General A.J.L. McNaughton about 1933 when he was Chief of Staff of the Department of National Defence at Ottawa. He was then engaged in setting up camps for young unemployed men and at his request, Mayor Ralph Webb of Winnipeg and I spent a Sunday with him at Lac Seul, Ontario, east of Winnipeg. He seemed grateful for our support. His plans had met with some criticism and as Chief of Staff his unorthodox help to the Conservative administration and to Prime Minister Bennett in particular was a special target for his critics. He told me that he had intimated to Mr. J.S. Woodsworth that as chief military officer, upon whom ultimate responsibility would rest for the use of force for the maintenance of law and order in case of trouble, he felt he ought to take steps to avoid such confrontations by endeavouring to do what he could to maintain the morale of young men — by putting youth to work in clearing timber, in national parks and undeveloped areas, in road building, preparing camp sites, and in clearing timber along lakes likely to be tied into water power development areas and in other public works of national importance. I was interested in his advocacy at the time of the St. Lawrence Seaway and his overall geographical grasp of the Canadian waterway system and its strategic value, but I found that the intensity of his technical competence and interest concentrated on larger vistas tended to reduce somewhat his attention to practical objectives, perhaps more palatable and better understood by the general public. He seemed hardly aware of the educational media then being used by adult educationalists and university extension personnel to enable people to learn skills and to make the leisure of the camps more significant and fruitful. When he was appointed on the outbreak of the war in 1939 to the post of Inspector-General of the units of the First Canadian Division on the understanding that he would be going overseas as its commander, I was again in touch with him.

I had worked with President Sidney Smith of the University of Manitoba, Brigadier (later Major-General) Beverley Brown, D.S.O., M.C., officer commanding the military district at Winnipeg, the Canadian Legion, and Major Deacon, the new auxiliary officer, to develop a program of lectures in November for the troops in Winnipeg, the first such venture in Canada. General McNaughton was interested in this and encouraged us in the effort.

As a result of my correspondence with him he asked to see me when he was in Winnipeg and Brigadier Brown arranged that President Sidney Smith and I should meet him at lunch, at which we had a very useful conversation. Subsequently, before accepting appointment as overseas director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services, I had assurance of his warm approval of the venture and my appointment in particular. Mr. Victor Sifton, publisher of the Winnipeg *Free Press* and a friend of the Honourable Norman Rogers, the new Minister of Defence, took up with the minister the matter of the Canadian Legion Educational Services and my appointment, and was good enough to telephone me about the same time from Ottawa that the minister similarly approved of the Canadian Legion plan, which we had developed in the Winnipeg Committee, and would welcome my acceptance of the post as overseas director.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilfrid Bovey, Director of Extramural Studies at McGill University, then President of the Canadian Association of Adult Education and Chairman of the Committee on Education of the Canadian Legion, came to Winnipeg to urge my acceptance. It was agreed that the new organization would be financed for the time being by the Canadian Legion War Services and sponsored by the Canadian Committee of the Canadian Legion as well as by the Canadian Association for Adult Education. This sponsorship by the Canadian Association for Adult Education was important. The Canadian Legion had no known competence or philosophy in the field of adult education and in its appeal for funds and public support in 1940, it had to be clearly supported by the leaders of adult education in Canada. Press comment and letters received as a result of the announcement of my appointment were favourable and encouraging with the exception of one letter from my wise and faithful friend, President Emeritus Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan, who felt that I should remain in Canada and take other war employment offered me, and he added, "You have a great future ahead of you but not overseas." He realized the humanitarian aspect of the appeal but felt that I was wrong to leave Canada at that time. However, I felt that I would like to go overseas and do what I could in the war effort and this seemed an opportunity to do something in which I was vitally interested.

On January 2, 1940, I reported to the Canadian Legion headquarters in Ottawa and was pleased that Lieutenant-Colonel H. DeMartigny of Montreal, a veteran of World War I who had been active in welfare work and veterans' organizations, accepted an appointment as Associate Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services. The memorandum prepared in Winnipeg and approved by the Minister of Defence had stipulated that the approval was to be for an organization of bilingual character and to be

operated in relation to the provision of educational facilities for the Canadian Forces. We looked for co-operation between English-speaking and French-speaking members of the Canadian Armed Forces, and in 1940 it was assumed the theatre of war would be once again in France. My diary for January 1940 shows that each night in Ottawa I met Leonard Brockington. I also saw much of my old C.N.R. friend Herb Lash, who had taken over the post of Director of Information from Walter Thompson, Director of the C.N.R. Public Relations Department. I lunched with John Stevenson of the *Times*, who sent an item to London. I spent much time every day with Walter Woods, Chairman at that time of the War Veterans' Allowance Board and Deputy Chairman of the Canadian Legion Educational Services. Wilfrid Bovey, Reg Bowler, General Secretary of the Canadian Legion, and others gave me their full support. In Montreal, I met Principal James, the new principal of McGill, at Wilfrid Bovey's home. I spent January 6-12 in Winnipeg and secured the release of Dr. Andrew Moore, Chief Inspector of secondary schools, from the Department of Education after a very friendly and helpful conversation with the Honourable Ivan Schultz, his minister. I spent a Sunday, January 14, with Dr. H.M. Tory, and saw his files on the Khaki University of World War I. There were interviews with John Grierson of the National Film Board, W.C. Clark, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Senator White, and on January 18 Reg Bowler and I had a helpful conference with the Honourable Norman Rogers, Minister of Defence, who gave us his cordial blessing and said to me, as I was leaving, that he envied me my job.

On January 19, my wife and I sailed from New York on the *Britannic*; the name was then a secret — much war cargo and few passengers. During the voyage we made friends with Sir James Purvis Stewart, who knew many of the surgeons my wife had worked with. He was the leader of the euthanasia movement in Britain and an omnivorous reader of paperback detective stories, which he passed to us in quantity during the voyage and on a long, delayed train journey from Liverpool to London. In London I reported to Brigadier W.W. Foster, D.S.O., Director of Auxiliary Services and President of the Canadian Legion, who had an office ready for me on the fifth floor of the Canadian National Railways Building at 17 Cockspur Street. He was surprised when he found I knew the offices better than he did and that I had occupied the same room in 1924 when employed with the Canadian National Railways in London. Then as in 1940, I was at the beginning of a new and difficult enterprise and looked out at the same chimney pots and roofs and brick walls as in 1924.

On February 8, Brigadier Foster and I had a conference with General McNaughton and Colonel Guy Turner (later Major-General) at Aldershot

and secured assent to a number of projects concerned with French language classes, libraries, and procedures. It should be remembered that the Canadian Armed Forces never adopted the Educational Corps of the British Army based on the War Office Manual and establishment provided by Royal Warrant in 1920 and replacing the old corps of army schoolmasters. One of the few officers who knew the contents of the War Office Manual and the background of the Educational Corps of the British Army was Colonel (later Major-General) Morton of Winnipeg, who had helped me with the memorandum on the provision of educational services for the Canadian Forces overseas. The educational corps of the British Army had its own journal. Both the air and naval services had comparable educational establishments. The directorate of the British Army Educational Corps gave us office space at Aldershot and co-operated cordially in our endeavours. Lieutenant-Colonel DeMartigny arrived in London on February 13. On February 15, I introduced him to General Crerar and members of his staff. We had problems of petrol supply, rations, access to the troops, transportation, and accommodation for classes, which were very different from those of the welfare services provided by the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., and the Canadian Legion War Services, who could attach auxiliary officers to units for rations; their services and canteen comforts were very much in demand by the officers in command of the various units. Most senior officers were products of Royal Military College and Staff College and had little occasion to become familiar with modern methods of adult education and university extension. Indeed the bilingual character of our commission had implications that some distrusted, while the image of the Legion as an old soldier pressure group was hardly that of a body sponsoring education, and to these officers the work of the Canadian Association for Adult Education was new and unknown.

Colonel (later General) E.L.M. Burns was one of the most instructed and well read of all the officers and was sympathetic to our work, but on the return of Brigadier W.W. Foster to Canada, we were ordered to report not to the Training Branch but through Major Steele, a Salvation Army officer who became director of Auxiliary Services Overseas with the rank of Major. He was unable to resolve the problems of quarters, rations, access to troops, and transportation, and it became impossible to retain Lieutenant-Colonel DeMartigny in London without hospitalization, protection of the Pension Act, and benefits attaching to status, when he could resume active duty in his rank in Montreal. The Canadian Legion War Services operated up to the time of the first public appeal for funds in the spring of 1940 on a small loan from the Red Cross and our allotment for the first few months was $1,000. Fortunately, we received much help from volunteers. A car was

donated to us and a chauffeur, Mrs. Henderson, came to us from the Voluntary Women's Corps, known as the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry.

My wife, Mrs. Dorothy Gregg, wife of Colonel Milton Gregg, V.C., M.C., and the wives of other officers helped us with libraries and educational tours. Chaplains and educationalists and our own Canadian Legion War Services supervisors gave us every support. Colonel Edwards, D.S.O., of Ottawa arrived to take over for a time as Director of Auxiliary Services and gave us every assistance, and we were fortunate in having Colonel Sharland, D.S.O., as Manager of the Canadian Legion War Services in London. Colonel W. Rae, D.S.O., a London businessman, a friend of mine who was honorary director for the C.L.E.S., took over the finances and contributed much by his skill and judgement to our work. We had an efficient secretary, Miss Hungerford, who unfortunately was killed later in an air raid in London. After the conference with General McNaughton, we began at once in January 1940 to organize French classes at Aldershot. The Linguaphone Institute donated one hundred linguaphones to us. With the help of chaplains we secured many volunteers, including one hundred French-speaking members of the Royal 22nd Regiment as group leaders for the 2,000 who indicated their willingness to attend French classes. On March 19 we had a demonstration of the use of the linguaphone and a French teaching film, a talkie, the projector being provided by the Y.M.C.A., and operated by Captain Jones, who was the senior officer of the Y.M.C.A. and later became Moderator of the United Church of Canada. The demonstration was attended by General McNaughton, his staff, members of the French Military Mission in London, Mr. Clow-Ford, Director of Extramural Studies at the University of London, and representatives of auxiliary organizations. The classes continued until after the fall of France, although they were much interrupted by alarms and excursions in respect of Norway and Dunkirk and excursions into France. In May, Canadian troops were moved to Northampton, in June to Oxford, and finally in July they remained on guard in an England threatened by invasion in the Guildford, Reigate, Seven Oaks area south of London.

We had a visit from the Minister of Defence, the Honourable Norman Rogers, followed some days later by a conference on May 3. There was a hope for a resolution of some of our problems arising from lack of status and it was clear that the minister had grasped our difficulties and that an adjustment would be made on his return to Ottawa. I had early reached a decision that ordinary library service under active service conditions would be almost impossible and that keeping track of books would be too expensive and difficult and that use should be made of low-priced paperbacks which could be passed from hand to hand. I talked this over with Mr. (later

Sir) W.E. Williams, Director of the British Institute of Adult Education and editor of the Pelican series published by Penguin Books. He introduced me to Mr. (later Sir) Richard Lane and his brother and we made arrangements to purchase large quantities of Pelicans and Penguins. The Pilgrim Trust, through its secretary, Mr. Thomas Jones, who had been a former secretary of several prime ministers and a power in Downing Street and a keen advocate of adult education, became interested in our work. It was arranged that we should receive a grant of 300 pounds sterling for the purchase of about 18,000 copies of Stanley Baldwin's excellent book *On England and Other Addresses* at 3¼d. each. This laid the basis for purchase of Penguins and Pelicans at the rate of 4d. each, which eliminated much keeping of records of books loaned. We arranged that each book should have a band with the Legion badge and a message from General McNaughton and enclosed was a card to be mailed to the Canadian Legion Educational Services indicating the educational service that the soldier was interested in. In April and May we had 1,000 replies, of which 400 were from soldiers who had the equivalent of junior matriculation or better and wanted to keep alive their academic interest, if possible, by correspondence courses.

This was a medium that I had earlier seen was the most suitable for the Canadian Legion Educational Services. In 1936 I had admired the efficiency with which Mr. J.W. Gibson had developed the excellent correspondence courses under the Department of Education in British Columbia and in January I had initiated steps to encourage the C.L.E.S. to get him to Ottawa. (Army and administrative practice uses acronyms so freely that a wag describes their proceedings and records as acronymonious. C.L.E.S. = Canadian Legion Educational Services.) This was done by Dr. Andrew Moore, with excellent results. In April I had a request from General R.H. Haining's War Office Committee on Education of the Armed Forces to give them the full details of our plans. I spent a couple of hours with this committee outlining our project. They were particularly impressed by the copies of the correspondence courses of the British Columbia Department of Education, which we were to use as a basis for the C.L.E.S. courses. In their report in August 1940, the Committee of the War Office of the British Department of Defence recommended that correspondence courses be adopted in the British Army. In his letter to me of July 9, General Haining, Vice-Chief, I.G.S. (later Intendant-General, Middle East) wrote: "I was very struck by the thoroughness and comprehensive nature of your plan for education." I was able to arrange with Vice-Chancellor H.L. Eason and Mr. A. Clow-Ford, External and Extension Registrar of the University of London, for acceptance of extramural students based on work done in Legion courses. At Oxford I secured the co-operation of Lord Elton of the

Rhodes Trust and Dr. (later Sir) C.K. Allen, Warden of Rhodes House, Dr. W.J. Rose, and Dr. Adams, Warden of All Souls. I became an observer member of the Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in His Majesty's Forces, in company with the directors of education of the British Navy, Army, and Air forces and I received much help from the secretary of this committee, Mr. Basil Yeaxlee, a pioneer in adult education. With the help of the Courtauld Institute of Art at the University of London, we carried out tours for Canadian soldiers of the historic parts of the City of London and I hoped we could use the educational and cultural services available in England. This theme was developed in a pamphlet written in London and sent as part of my April report on "Morale-Building" and printed for distribution by the Canadian Legion in Ottawa. The British Legion staff found us furniture for the office.

In countless ways, the President of the British Legion, Field-Marshall Lord Milne and Past President Colonel Crossfield gave us aid. We also had support from Lieutenant-General Sir John Brown, K.C.B., D.S.O., D.A.G.T., of the War Office and Sir William Hornell, Assistant Administrative Officer of the Eastern Command and London Welfare Branch. The British Advisory Council for Education of His Majesty's Forces had Sir Walter Moberley as chairman, Master of Balliol, Mr. A.D. Lindsey as Vice-Chairman, and as members, the well-known Lord Sankey and Mr. Ernest Green of the 'Workers' Educational Association. These last named men were powerful friends of the Labour party, particularly of the Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, and supporters of Mr. W.E. Williams of the British Institute of Adult Education. It came as no surprise to me when later in the war Mr. Williams became the head of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs and developed a whole new pattern of contemporary affairs classes (he was later Director-General of the Arts Council). He had supplied us during the spring of 1940 with copies of *Painting for Fun*. We planned art exhibitions and visits to art galleries.

However, directors of the C.L.E.S. in Canada, now that the campaign for funds had been successful, in view of the interruption of programs by emergencies of war, asked me to return to Canada to review the situation for the coming winter. This was particularly necessary as the death of the Minister of Defence, the Honourable Norman Rogers, on June 10 in an air accident, to some extent jeopardized the understanding we had reached with him about future operations. My friends of the established Educational Corps of the British Armed Services agreed to meet within their powers whatever demands were made on them for lectures or material. On July 20, General McNaughton went over the situation with me, asking me that I return not later than October after I had canvassed the situation fully as to

budget, personnel, and supplies and particularly the correspondence courses which I had suggested. My wife and I sailed from Liverpool on July 24, having in our charge four children of friends destined to friends in Canada with full power of attorney in respect of their feeling unusually responsible for the children's welfare. On leaving London I found that we had spent less than $5,000 in six months and on account of the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust, the linguaphones, the donors of equipment and library books we had on hand 100 linguaphones, 36 gramophones, 800 textbooks, 9,000 Penguin and other paperback books, and a balance on hand of 1,380 pounds sterling ready for emergencies and controlled by Colonel W. Rae, D.S.O., who had given us good counsel and excellent financial management.

We reached Ottawa on August 2 and after a holiday started work with Dr. John Robbins, Dr. Orville Ault, Mr. J.W. Gibson, Dr. Art E. Chatwin, and Dr. Andrew Moore, mainly on problems of the correspondence courses. On August 20, the directors of the Canadian Legion War Services had a lunch at the Chateau Laurier in my honour, attended by the Minister of Defence and the senior officers of the services. This gave me a useful opportunity to outline the program, report progress, and indicate that in this plan for constructive use of leisure and the improvement of the skills and development of the attitudes of the soldier, we were dealing with a type of serviceman who could benefit from this program. Servicemen were more sober-minded than their fathers, better educated, and in the large number of enquiries we already had in England, showed an unusual interest in self-improvement, one-half of the enquiries being from those who had already had a high school education.

We now could push ahead with the correspondence courses. I recall many hours with Mr. Gibson and Dr. Morrison fitting a dummy course into the lapel pocket of the battle dress, dealing with the questions of offset printing, selecting tutors, and drawing up application records and forms, but the most important item on the list was to secure approval for the courses from the provincial departments of education across Canada. So, as director of the C.L.E.S., on August 27, I led the Legion Committee in a conference with the Canada-Newfoundland Education Association, consisting of representatives of the provincial departments of education (mainly their deputy ministers). I was accompanied by Dr. Andrew Moore, Dr. A.E. Chatwin, J.W. Gibson, Dr. John Robbins, Dr. Orville Ault, Major Deacon, Director of Auxiliary Services, and Mr. Ross Winter of Queen's University. This conference at Queen's agreed that its members would recommend through their respective provincial departments of education that appropriate academic credits be granted to the C.L.E.S. students who satisfactorily completed correspondence courses framed to meet the syllabi of ordinary

school subjects capable of being taught by the correspondence method. This formula was clear and limited, but effective, and enabled us to proceed with confidence to printing the correspondence courses. In September, the first copies of the pocket-size correspondence manuals and information and record forms were ready. A national scheme of education, acceptable in all provinces, had been achieved for a temporary and laudable purpose.

For some time I had been under pressure from General Harold McDonald, Chairman of the Pension Commission, and Mr. Walter Woods, Chairman of the War Veterans' Allowance Board, to take the post of Executive Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Rehabilitation and Demobilization, which as yet was a cabinet committee, but still unorganized as an interdepartmental committee. The C.L.E.S. would survive and continuity would be maintained by my membership on its advisory committee. Sweeping changes took place at the Cabinet level of war direction, particularly of the Defence Department with the appointment of the Honourable Angus L. McDonald as Minister of National Defence for Naval Services on July 12, the Honourable C.J. Power as Minister of National Defence for Air Services and Associate Minister of National Defence, with the Honourable J.L. Ralston as Minister of Defence, largely concerned with the Army. The Honourable Joseph Thorson, a friend of mine from Winnipeg, was the new Minister of National War Services. The Commonwealth Air Training Scheme was established and called for seventy-one training schools for pilots, observers, air gunners, and wireless operators and would require a maintenance and instruction personnel of 40,000 and technical training of all kinds at once to meet the needs of the war industry, the air force, and the navy became urgent. Provincial youth training and vocational training facilities were to be taxed to the limit. I consulted Brigadier W.W. Foster, Director of Auxiliary Services, ascertained that Dr. A.E. Chatwin, Secretary of the Advisory Committee, would be acceptable to the army command overseas as my successor, and taking into consideration the assurances of the minister and General McNaughton that his status while a civilian would ensure his eligibility for pension entitlement in the event of injury due to service, that he would be given every facility and assistance in his task by the command overseas. It seemed wise to embark on the next phase of the C.L.E.S. Overseas with one who had not been involved in the initial and difficult struggle for recognition.

In addition, my new appointment and my membership on the C.L.E.S. Committee would give me an opportunity to support his work from a stronger inside position. The C.L.E.S. on September 14, 1940 welcomed my acceptance of the rehabilitation task and in their letter agreed to my release, thanked me very cordially "for the unremitting work overseas which, with

that of Colonel Bovey and his associates, has well and truly laid the groundwork essential to effective operation of the educational plan." After further kind comment on the quality of the work, Mr. Reg Bowler, Honorary Secretary of the C.L.E.S., added, "May I add, we are most appreciative of the invaluable assistance given to you and given to us by Mrs. England, her regret in regard to the change of plans is understandable, but she, like ourselves, must become reconciled to the dictates of duty. Will you also permit me to add that it has been a source of much personal pleasure to have been associated with you during your tenure of office with our War Services. I wish you every success in your new work coupled with the hope that similar association in the future will not be denied to us." Mr. Alex Walker, the new President of the Canadian Legion, gave me unstinted support.

I remained a member of the C.L.E.S. committee until the Canadian government took over the public appeals and established the Charles Burton Committee, which controlled all auxiliary services expenditure. As I was actively engaged in submitting proposals for veterans that would cost many hundreds of millions, I found it discreet to retire from active participation in the C.L.E.S. committee to avoid any possible conflict of interest. On one occasion, however, I did appear before the Burton Committee to support the application of the C.L.E.S. for funds when that committee seemed somewhat obtuse in recognizing educational needs and tended to give priority to other services providing comforts, welfare, and entertainment. Eventually, the C.L.E.S. did much to inform servicemen and servicewomen about the measures that our Committee on Rehabilitation and Demobilization had arranged, and added a bulletin on re-establishment to the ninety educational courses and planned reading and fifty vocational guidance booklets. There were nearly 60,000 registered correspondence students in Canada and Newfoundland and over 20,000 overseas. Eight thousand servicemen attended short university courses and millions of books were distributed. The cost of the C.L.E.S. for the period between 1939 and 1946 was $6,245,000.

In 1947, the Department of Veterans Affairs assumed the administration of the complete correspondence course program of the C.L.E.S. The first suggestion made was that the Honourable Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour, should fit the C.L.E.S. courses into his vocational training administration. However, Prime Minister Mackenzie King had been very selective and cagey about the appointment of ministers to the Imperial Privy Council, enabling such ministers to be called Right Honourable, somehow letting it appear that the invidious distinction derived, not so much from his recommendation, but from Royal Prerogative exercised by a sort of grace or favour. To the names of the Right Honourable J.L. Ilsley and the Right

Honourable Louis St. Laurent there had been added the names of Ian McKenzie, C.D. Howe, and J.G. Gardner, who were now known as the "Right Hon." Coming out of the east block, the Honourable Humphrey Mitchell complained to Ian McKenzie, Minister of the D.V.A., about his attempts to load his department with extra administration and extra liability and new estimates, and said: "Let some of the damned statesmen take their share." So the C.L.E.S. correspondence courses fell to the Department of Veterans' Affairs under the Right Honourable Ian McKenzie. Dr. Arthur Chatwin carried on this service until his retirement at sixty-five. In 1967, the courses were finally terminated, arrangements being made for purchase of courses from provincial governments as needed by veterans. The booklets left were distributed to institutions. Over twenty years, 1947-67, 27,000 certificates were issued to students who had successfully completed courses; over 200,000 students had been enrolled, 89,000 of whom were in the armed forces, 94,000 veterans, and the balance sponsored by the R.C.M.P., Indian Affairs, and penitentiary authorities.

When I accepted the directorship of the C.L.E.S. in December 1939, it was stipulated that the Canadian Legion War Services would surrender its educational work to the Department of Defence if the armed forces wished to take the project into the establishment. The air and naval forces early decided to appoint educational directors and both forces were soon concerned with improving the educational qualifications of recruits, particularly in the air force, where the junior matriculation requirements for pilots proved a limiting factor in securing trainable pilots. Dr. Andrew Moore of the C.L.E.S., a veteran R.A.F. pilot of World War I, was given rank as a squadron leader to enable him to have readier access to the air commands throughout Canada and to improve liaison between the R.C.A.F. and the C.L.E.S. My friend Dr. H.R. Low of Winnipeg was appointed Director of Education in the R.C.A.F. A similar appointment was made in the Canadian Navy. This stimulated the recruitment of teachers and education officers both in the Navy and in the Air Force. These education officers were concerned not only with organizing technical courses and engaging instructors, but also in an adult education program of lectures, C.L.E.S. correspondence courses, directed reading, information, and the provision of libraries. Later the information services were greatly helped by the Wartime Information Board. It is interesting to note that in 1951, the Department of National Defence picked up one phase of this program again by establishing the Bureau of Current Affairs under Dr. H.R. Low, but this was discontinued in 1957. The emergence of the Directorates of Personnel Selection concerned with testing, guidance, and allocation of personnel to specific employment and by special services concerned with morale, sample

polls, and information make more effective use of psychologists by such directorates and by the Director of Medical Services, Major General Brock Chisholm.

These directorates were, however, less effective in the armed forces overseas. In the army, General Crerar throughout 1940 and 1941 was heavily engaged in planning for a Canadian Army overseas and in the establishment of the N.R.M.A. camps under the National Resources and Mobilization Act and little time could be spared for educational activities. He remained unenthusiastic about adult education and opposed to the establishment of a directorate in the army. The call-up for one month's training under the National Resources Mobilization Act of 1940 when he was chief of staff, later extended to four months training, developed in some recruits the well-known "zombie" mentality, unresponsive to national needs, and scornful of the military set-up. Low morale and uncertain discipline may have had a partial cause in recruits being untouched by discussion groups, directed reading, vocational training, and educational opportunities, drama, art, films, visits, tours, recreation, and close contact with Canadian homes and universities and outstanding men and women to inspire and lead. The closing of the door on vigorous, massive adult education activities may have reduced the pride and satisfaction of being a Canadian; deprivation instead of enrichment in a dreary round of drills, fatigues, duties, labour without purpose in isolated camps certainly did not help. Perhaps under the circumstances of compulsory call-up the educational approach might have failed, but after all we have had some success with compulsory schooling up to fifteen and it should be part of the freedom of the citizen that he not be deprived under *any* circumstances of educational opportunity while serving the state in the armed forces and in Canada. The citizen soldier should continue to have access to his linguistic and cultural heritage.

However, vocational and educational training were steadily increased to meet a tightening demand for technical skills in all the services and in war industry. Eventually in 1943, the army followed the air and naval forces in appointing a director of education in the person of Colonel the Reverend G.G.D. Kilpatrick, D.S.O., B.D., Principal of United Theological College, Montreal, a United Church divine with a distinguished military record in World War I. He held the post from 1943 to 1945, co-operated with the C.L.E.S., and had the advantage until November 1, 1944 of having as minister the Honourable J.L. Ralston, whose status as a Baptist layman with Montreal connections made for mutual understanding. General Sir Sam Hughes had been criticized in World War I for appointing the Reverend Charles Williams of St. James Methodist Church to a recruiting post as a major but Dr. Kilpatrick's appointment was rather different. He

was a man who had had a notable military career with the 42nd Royal Highlanders and the Third Canadian Division in France in World War I and high scholastic attainments; he was, one felt, perhaps more aware of the French-Canadian milieu than Charlie Williams, whom I had known prior to his being called to the church in Montreal. Our original C.L.E.S. bilingual directorate and initial project to use volunteers of the Royal 22nd Regiment as leaders of linguaphone groups and spoken French classes with a basic French vocabulary and talking films had the warm support of the former president and founding member of the Canadian Legion, General L.R. LaFleche, and Colonel Wilfred Bovey, Chairman of the Canadian Legion Committee, well known for his French-Canadian sympathies and bilingual culture. Dr. H.M. Tory, former head of the Khaki University in World War I, had come from McGill University and understood and sympathized with our efforts. Unhappy past incidents with respect to the Department of Defence in the thirties, and the sudden replacement in 1935 of Dr. Tory by General McNaughton on the Research Council made all these men persona non grata to General McNaughton. Brigadier W.W. Foster, Director of Auxiliary Services, was criticized for continuing as President of the Canadian Legion while serving. I felt in 1940 that General McNaughton would loyally assist the project so wholeheartedly supported by the Honourable Norman Rogers as minister.

When Mr. Rogers was killed in June, his successor, Mr. Ralston, and General McNaughton were confronted by the alarming world military situation and had little time to spare for auxiliary services. Moreover, their personal relations were uneasy. The Honourable J.L. Ralston, gallant, patriotic, and dedicated, worked with unflagging industry and sometimes tended to immerse himself in administrative and legalistic detail and saw the pattern of educational services as an auxiliary similar to those providing comforts and welfare rather than as an established adjunct of training in line with sound logistical planning. By background and career he was temperamentally unadjusted to the spread of bilingualism and bilingual administration. The contribution of Mr. Ralston and his department and general staff was great and historic. Yet I regret that in all the billions spent on the war effort, we did not find a few millions more to encourage adult education. Cromwell wanted a soldier who knows what he fights for and loves what he knows. True, the Canadian Army reached a high standard of efficiency, as did the Navy and Air Force, and was unavoidably compelled to select and train speedily personnel in all the skills essential to a mobile competent fighting force in vocational centres, in trade schools, and on the job. But in view of modern weapons of war, nuclear bombs, and intercontinental ballistic missiles, it is highly improbable that Canada will ever again

mobilize such a large body of citizen soldiers. In retrospect I cannot help but regret that we missed the opportunity to make the army a school of citizenship, not an entirely novel idea from Cromwell to the communists.

In Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* there is a quote from a letter of Cromwell of September 1643:

> Such men as had the fear of God before them and as made some conscience of wnat they did . . . the plain russet-coated captain, that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows.

Communism insists on indoctrination of the armed forces with the dogma of Marxian socialism. Democracy has a far more difficult problem — to ensure that its armed forces are disciplined, responsible and technically competent in the use of modern weapons of conflict yet open to the freedoms and opportunities of cultural development offered by a free society.

10

VETERANS' REHABILITATION: WORLD WAR II

I entered the paper blizzard of hundreds of orders-in-council by PC 58-4640, September 11, 1940, appointing me Executive Secretary of the Interdepartmental General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation. I took up my duties on September 15, 1940 in a rather dismal room in the Daly Building, Ottawa, near the office of General Harold McDonald, Chairman of the Canadian Pension Commission. I was fortunate in securing as my secretary Miss Gwen Baxter, from a well-known Catholic family in Ottawa, who had had long experience in the Department of Pensions and its procedures and as a stenographer had court reporter efficiency.

I was welcomed by Dr. R.A. Woodhouse, Deputy Minister, and his officers and had almost daily contact with Mr. Walter Woods, Chairman of the War Veterans' Allowance Board and later Associate Deputy Minister of the Department of Pension and General McDonald, who became Chairman of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation. Since the original order in council PC 4068½, December 8, 1939 set up the cabinet committee, my first task was to draft and have passed PC 5421, October 5, 1940 to enable our committee to function on the level of the respective deputy ministers, who would be involved in the administration of policies of demobilization and rehabilitation and to attach as members to the subcommittee experts outside the public service. Looking back on the three years of planning and preparing legislation, I remain grateful and amazed at the enthusiasm and cordial help everyone gave our work — the promptness and punctuality of meetings, the speed and relevance of deliberations, the consistent concentrated discussions, the unanimous consent of subcommittees and the interdepartmental committee, and the absence of desire for credit or preferment or departmental advantage. Paperwork was at a minimum, as we usually worked on draft legislation or orders-in-council or definite recommendations to the cabinet committee or for the attention of the minister in whose jurisdiction the project was to come. I knew the main ministers involved and had the confidence of the Minister of Pensions and National Health, the Honourable Ian McKenzie, to whom I have paid tribute elsewhere. His able secretary, Mr. Norman Senior, had been a newspaper man, had good political sense, understood his minister's style, especially as to speeches, and gave me every assistance.

My former teachers at Queen's, Dr. O.D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Dr. W.C. Clark, Deputy Minister of Finance, not only wrote me their approval but found time to support me in my various undertakings. I also knew several other deputy ministers, having worked with them in immigration and land settlement work and in community projects in the two decades prior to 1940. I also had the good fortune to know well Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, adviser to the Minister of Finance, whose counsel was invaluable as a member of many of our more vital committees. Dr. Norman Robertson, Under-Secretary for External Affairs, and Dr. Coleman, Under-Secretary of State, were also friends upon whom I relied. I had the support of the Canadian Legion, particularly because of my work with the Canadian Legion Educational Services. Mr. Alex Walker, C.B.E., the new President, Mr. Reg Bowler, the General Secretary, Mr. Herwig, the Assistant Secretary, John Hundevad, editor of *The Legionnary*, and my friends of the Canadian Legion Educational Services all gave us every assistance. When we came to assemble our subcommittees on land settlement, employment, vocational training, resumption of interrupted education, special casualties, special problems of discharged women, preference in the public service, canteens, returned soldiers' insurance, neuropsychiatric cases, demobilization priorities, and methods, I found that nearly all the experts outside the civil service who were co-opted as members of our subcommittees were men and women whom I already knew and with many of whom I had worked as a colleague. I had had as my chief for twelve years in the Canadian National Railways Dr. W.J. Black, the first chairman of the Soldiers' Settlement Board of World War I, and as colleagues several of the superintendents of the Soldiers' Settlement Board, including the late Fred Freer of Great West Life, who had been a director of the C.L.E.S. and a keen supporter of its work. Returning by air from a subcommittee meeting on land settlement, he was unfortunately killed in the air disaster of February 15, 1941.

My work in adult education had brought me such friends as President Wallace of Queen's, President Cody of Toronto, and Deputy Minister McNally of Alberta. These men were to be found on several of the subcommittees. Victor Sifton, publisher of the Winnipeg *Free Press*, was now in Ottawa as Master-General of Ordnance, and tried to interest me in heading an ordnance training school, but understood and accepted my commitment to veterans' rehabilitation. Senator Cairine Wilson, friend of President Walter Murray of Saskatchewan, had been in touch with me on the refugee problem in the thirties and when my wife and I took up our residence in Ottawa, she was extremely kind and hospitable to us, particularly at lunch on Sundays when we had as fellow guests from time to time

Colonel Edwards, who had helped me in London, Ian McKenzie, and Dr. C.J. McKenzie of the Research Council. We also had her aid when meetings of educationalists took place in Ottawa. The Rideau Club extended membership to members of the Manitoba Club and here and at the Chateau Laurier few days passed without meetings with members of the committee, the Canadian Legion, out-of-town friends, and interested Ottawa officials and my diary shows frequent lunch meetings with Grant Dexter, Dr. H.M. Tory, and Leonard Brockington. During the thirties in Winnipeg, I shared in the welfare activities of the Family Bureau, the Community Chest, the Y.M.C.A., the Boy Scouts' Association, and various bodies concerned with youth and employment. This gave me a special regard for trained social workers and it was no surprise to find Dr. Charlotte Whitton, C.B.E., very sympathetic to our plans. Soon we were joined in Ottawa by Dr. George Davidson, whom I had known in British Columbia as a brilliant classical scholar whose logical intelligence had turned to problems of welfare. He was in those early years of the war executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council and was an understanding ally.

The re-establishment of veterans in civil life was at bottom a test of Canadian society and of its orientation towards the welfare state. Failure to absorb veterans into a reasonably rational, progressive economy would mean that the administrators of a modern state, whatever their philosophical or political presuppositions, would be bankrupt in capacity and vision. On the ground of equity and efficiency, the challenge of a discharged serviceman, already evident in 1940 and destined to be more insistent as the war continued, must be met. I found that the Department of Pensions and National Health, while increasingly conscious of health and welfare needs had, in the War Veterans Allowance Board activities, begun to grapple with the emergencies of unemployable veterans due to age and non-pensionable disability. But in the department itself there was some uncertainty as to World War II discharged personnel and indeed among some, an understandable hesitancy in dealing with individual cases. For a time, I saw quite a few of these admittedly difficult cases and found them a contrast to the self-reliant, selected young servicemen I had met overseas.

Partly therefore in self-defence and partly in response to an obvious gap in the administration, I drafted what became PC 2682, November 27, 1940, which established the Veterans' Welfare Division to advise and assist former members of the armed forces in re-establishment in civil life. The duties of the division and its subdivisions throughout Canada were counselling, knowledge of all regulations, and policies affecting veterans, studies of occupations and opportunities, preference in employment and receipt of notification of discharge, contact with the educational activities of the

Canadian Legion, and reports on local situations. Thus the first official mention of a tie-in with the Canadian Legion Educational Services was made. The Veterans' Welfare Division later became the Rehabilitation Division. It released me from much interviewing that was wrongly directed to my office and could easily have diverted my energies from the planning task. I had given close study to the civil re-establishment policies in the administration of World War I and had noted the precipitate speed of demobilization, and the abnormal number of casualties — blinded, amputees, tubercular, and psychiatric cases to be taken care of.

The only provision for fit veterans was the Soldiers' Settlement Act, and the emphasis throughout the program was that of physical rehabilitation and vocational training of the disabled. I had already grasped the point that the new World War II serviceman was a very different product from the serviceman of World War I, but it was easy for outside observers hypnotized by the experiences of the thirties to assume that the unemployed youth of the thirties was the main constituent of the new armed forces. For example, Professor Gregory Vlastos, the distinguished philosopher, then teaching at Queen's University, had been one of an enquiry group into needs of air crew overseas in 1942/43 and in his speech to the Canadian Club, Ottawa, finished his appeal for a new post-war world by the surprising generalization that: "Air crew, now engaged overseas, were the young men riding the rods in the thirties and [that] their mental attitude was bound to be determined by the contrast between their unemployed experience and their worthwhile careers as members of air crews." More careful reflection would have indicated that most air crew of 1942 would have been under sixteen in 1936 and must have been assiduous in high school to acquire the educational standards to qualify as R.C.A.F. air crew trainees and undergo stiff months of training. It was clear that our first task was to make a survey of the personnel of the Canadian navy, army, and air forces and determine their age, education, previous employment, and probable rehabilitation needs. Their pre-enlistment occupational history plus service training and employment would need to be brought together if placement services were to be effective in matching their aptitudes and training to the opportunities available after the war. This survey covered 200,000 pre-enlistment occupational history forms and was conducted by Dr. O. Lemieux with great skill. It was a remarkably accurate forecast of the civil re-establishment categories into which ex-service personnel would fall on demobilization — thirty per cent for reinstatement in pre-war employment, eight per cent returning to professional or private employment, twenty-five per cent in need of trade training, seventeen per cent with junior matriculation who would resume interrupted education.

It was also clear that born and educated in Canada, selected by a much more effective medical screen, engaged in the training of modern mechanized armed force, they had become accustomed to modern techniques of personnel selection, they had been subjected in the army and the air force to intelligence quotient and aptitude testing, and selection for types of training had been made along psychological lines as never before. There were open to the young servicemen educational facilities and opportunities for trade training and service training such as did not exist in World War I. In three years therefore, the navy, army, and air forces had become huge technical training schools and had established directorates of personnel selection dealing with questions of more effective placement and allocation in the armed services. In short, it was clear the demobilized servicemen would have become familiar with wide opportunities for training and skills and in many cases would have become accustomed to objective tests of capacity for training. There was a strong prima facie case for the belief that the serviceman on general demobilization in discipline, training, intelligence, physical fitness, and psychological adjustment would be a better man than the corresponding civilian who had remained at home in civil employment. The difficulty arose as to how best to assess and give weight to the records which would be available with respect to each man. The Air Force, for example, had a record of the whole background of the airman — I.Q., aptitude rating, courses taken in the services. It was necessary that these things should not be thrown into the wastepaper basket and some plan must be found for using the records so that a young airman who by his record was shown to be physically fit, mentally alert, disciplined, and well-trained might secure the preference in employment to which he was entitled as a result of his competence.

Our task then was to develop measures which would ensure that categorization would correspond to avenues of opportunity, that these should have continuity with transition emergency aid on discharge and be somewhat mutually exclusive so as to ensure definite choice of career by the demobilized personnel. That is to say, benefits received under one plan constituted ineligibility for other plans unless repaid. It is impossible in a chapter to outline the Veterans' Charter, which was the result of our committee's work. That has already been done in an official history published by the Queen's Printer and written by my old friend and colleague, the late Dr. Walter S. Woods, C.M.G., who was chairman of our committee, succeeding the late Brigadier-General Harold McDonald, C.M.G., D.S.O., and as Deputy Minister of the Department of Veterans' Affairs rendered Canada an inestimable service. Between 1942 and 1950 in books and articles, I endeavoured to cover the details and estimate the significance of the civil

re-establishment plan and thus may now in this brief reference deal cursorily with some of the principles and the innovations underlying our final report of September 21, 1943 made to the Minister of Pensions, the Honourable Ian McKenzie, in his capacity as convenor of the Cabinet Committee on the Demobilization and Rehabilitation.

At the outset, I should note that during the 1940/43 period we might have been excused moments of uncertainty and pessimism. No government in history has ever successfully re-established its defeated armies in civil life, nor would we find an inconclusive armistice a suitable basis. We thought in terms of the 1918 conclusion, which speeded demobilization and already we had the machinery of compensation and treatment, pensions, hospitals, the Soldiers' Settlement Board and War Veterans' Allowance administrations available on which to build. The constituency to be served was identifiable and documentation on the part of the armed forces was vastly improved, and if we could frame an integrated pattern of rehabilitation measures, ensuring a smooth transition from armed service to civilian opportunity, an efficient administration was possible, as key personnel were now available. Flow charts which summarized our key plans and submitted with the report indicated comprehensive and feasible policies, but success hinged on the return of a victorious armed force and the maintenance of a reasonably stable economy without undue price inflation, an absence of social unrest, racial and industrial strife, strikes, and continuing public confidence and patriotism undisturbed by revolutionary propaganda.

It was comparatively easy to arrange for the necessary discharge procedures, transportation home, the completion of documentation, service badges, discharge certificates, and the traditional post-discharge pay, but from this stage on the routes to competency in civil life diverged and the program had to combine a variety of opportunities with some degree of integration. Several main criteria or desiderata lay at the base of the program. These included such items as compensation, categorization, continuity, consistency, community aid, and comradeship and in these the pattern for compensation had been made during World War I. Those who served were covered in respect to disability by the terms of the Canadian Pension Act and treatment was arranged for any residual disability resulting from service. But compensation or pension does not cover the whole area of privilege given to a pensioner, and there are many other features particularly relating to preference in the civil service that apply to such cases. It was also possible in connection with reinstatement to ensure a continuation of the preference in the civil service for applicants who had served in World War II. As to categorization, it may be seen that the contingency confronting the new ex-serviceman would involve first of all a reinstatement pro-

gram with respect to the groups requiring reinstatement either in their previous employment or in agriculture. An act governing the reinstatement in the pre-enlistment employment was passed. This covered a wide range of cases, and in agriculture there was the Veterans' Land Act. As to vocational training, this was already widespread with respect to war industry and in the trade training for the services. Continuity had to be ensured so that the policy of discretionary allowances related to definite forms of re-establishment might accord with final objectives of self-reliant work. Physical rehabilitation had to be co-ordinated with civil re-establishment and during training or early employment subsidiary protection arranged for against sickness or unemployment.

To build a moving assembly line from service in the forces through guidance and training to suitable employment was not an easy operation, but strengthened continuities, as far as they were progressive, diminished the sense of crisis or the abruptness with which the new environment confronted the new entrants into civil life. Administrations which had been created to cover categorical provisions as defined by legislation sometimes tend to make their procedures and decisions exclusive in character and their relation to the recipient of rendered service restrictive and relevant to their own specialized task. It is easy to lose sight of other aspects of the program, but as far as possible training was provided for the new staff taken into the Department of Veterans' Affairs and an endeavour was made to have them realize that the veteran's problem was a *unity* and that the veteran must feel that the measures taken were not irrelevant to his specific problems. The client should never feel that he is being given the runaround and there should be no area of disputed jurisdiction. As to consistency, there was no slavish adherence to a master plan or a set of political principles, but attention was paid to the coherence of the program and its relevance to a purpose. A program of bits and pieces developed as a result of pressure group politics sometimes fails in overall planning. A reasonably integrated program has a better chance of avoiding anomalies and inequities that creep in in the post-discharge period.

One important indication of the necessity to bring re-establishment policy in line with that which obtains for all citizens can be seen in the development of the Unemployment Insurance Act. This measure of social insurance went into force in Canada on July 1, 1941 and established a system with Dominion assistance of unemployment benefits as a right because of contributions compulsorily made by employees and employers. It was clear that those serving in the armed forces during and after July 1, 1941 would be unable to accumulate eligibility for benefits during their absence from civil employment and because of non-contribution. It became necessary there-

fore in the Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order to establish parity under the Unemployment Insurance Act between servicemen entering insured employment upon discharge and civilian workers. The period of service in the forces was regarded as equivalent to a period of insured employment under the act when a serviceman upon discharge has been in insured employment for fifteen weeks.

The Dominion government made an employer and employee contribution so as to place the employee on the same footing as the civil worker, who had been paying contributions from July 1, 1941. On this basis, it was necessary to consider temporary protection for the discharged person who did not enter insured employment or did not qualify for benefit under the act. This was done by means of out-of-work benefits paid under similar conditions to those which obtained in respect of unemployment insurance benefits, namely "being capable of and available for work but unable to obtain suitable employment." However, in the case of the discharged man who wished vocational training and to resume interrupted education, there was an enforced period of absence from work for wages. The obligation to report for work while in training was thus dropped in these cases, but the rate of grant for subsistence allowances remained the same as out-of-work benefits, the overhead costs of instruction being paid. The rate schedule was thus standard for out-of-work benefits, grants for vocational training, university education, while temporarily incapacitated, and while awaiting returns from private enterprise. These rates were normally less attractive than wage or salary rates. They avoided undue expectation of higher rewards upon completion of training and they were unlikely to encourage any but genuine candidates for training. Training allowances and grants took into account other income with some special consideration for income arising from pensions, designed to give special encouragement to the disabled. The rates were thus not competitive with the needs of a productive economy and were paid to students, trainees, apprentices, and learners during the tutelage period. The amount for the maintenance of a single man in university was in line with reasonable assistance which parents gave to their sons attending universities at that time. The rates accorded with the nature of the emergency. The objective was to move men into employment and avoid the postponement or retardation of the use of individual initiative.

There had to be a reasonable consistency then in the availability of benefits to those discharged, whether during or after hostilities. Eligibility did not rest on the luck of early or delayed discharge but rather on the nature of the emergency confronting re-entry into civil life. A standard schedule for the various types of emergency during and after the war was difficult to fit into the wide swings in cost of living in rural and urban areas

of Canada, and an attempt to meet this situation by a differential scale might have been productive of greater inequities than the plan we adopted. Insofar as the rate was relatively higher for the man in rural areas, this proved to be an additional inducement to return to the home area rather than seek high-cost large cities. Although most of the veterans were single and young married men without families, the maintenance of the ex-serviceman who had several dependents complicated the problem somewhat. If an effort were made to stretch the monetary benefit to each veteran to cover dependency and the circumstances of large families whil retaining a link with the wage or income scale and also with the benefit schedule of the unemployment insurance system, higher scales would have emerged than necessary and serious anomalies would have arisen, since over-protection would have been thus afforded to over one-half the force. However, during service, a system of dependents' allowances together with an assignment pay to dependents was used to cover family needs. When the head of a family was living at home, assignment of pay was unnecessary but in the event of his taking a vocational course at another centre some additional supplement by way of living-away-from-home allowance was needed. It seemed best therefore to maintain a similar system of dependency allowances to that in force for servicemen and in respect of out-of-work benefit rates, married and single, to keep a link with the unemployment insurance benefit schedule. Otherwise it would have become more profitable to use the out-of-work provisions of the Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order and avoid using the social insurance designed for civil life; insofar as this were to take place, civil re-establishment would have been defeated and an ad hoc program for veterans would tend to be perpetuated. It is important to note that these post-discharge payments made to young men should be seen as *opportunity-giving* rather than social welfare aid.

In drafting the Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order PC 7633 October 1, 1941, we had as consultant one of the ablest civil servants of his time, Mr. A.D. Watson, chief actuary of the Department of Insurance, who had been one of the architects of the Unemployment Insurance Act and whose drafting skill, professional actuarial knowledge, and selfless devotion buttressed my efforts and made the resulting measure a document that eventually won unanimous consent. My old friend Mr. McNamara, Chairman of the Unemployment Insurance Commission and later Deputy Minister of Labour, was apprehensive that the Unemployment Insurance Fund would suffer deficits if ex-servicemen were included. I made every effort to convince him that far from depleting the fund, the inclusion in it of former members of the armed forces in respect of whom the federal government would pay the employer and employee contributions and a corres-

pondingly greater share of the statutory one-fifth of such contributions, would insure the greater solvency of the fund. The statutory reinstatement in pre-enlistment employment and preference in civil service employment had already been provided and these and a larger post-war armed force, a more attractive land settlement act, vocational training, university training, the out-of-work, temporarily incapacitated and awaiting return benefits of the proposed re-establishment order, and the more employable and better trained, physically fit veterans than those workers left at home would mean a much lower rate of recipients of unemployment benefit under the act with respect to World War II veterans.

These arguments were developed in memoranda along the lines of Chapters 11-14 of my book *Discharged*. They were backed solidly by Mr. A.D. Watson. Eventually, in Part III, Section 17, a formula was agreed to under which, on the recommendation of the Unemployment Insurance Advisory Committee, if the fund should be adversely affected by reason of the provisions of paragraphs 15 and 16 of the order, the government through the D.V.A. undertook to remedy any depletion owing to the operation of the order. It affords me considerable satisfaction to note that the forecasts of Mr. Watson and myself were amply justified and the fears of the commission (based as they were on pessimistic inter-war views of the employability of veterans of World War I) were largely illusory and unrelated to the men, women, and measures of World War II. The Canadian government made contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund covering employee and employer contributions in respect of 532,588 ex-service personnel to the amount of 51 million dollars and the large balance to the credit of the fund on March 31, 1950 was $580,328,272. On September 30, 1950, the total number of veterans registered as unemployed was 13,829. An amending order-in-council was brought in, bringing the out-of-work benefits in line with increased allowances rather than with the unemployment insurance benefits and these rates were confirmed under the Veterans' Rehabilitation Act, 1945. During the decade 1941 to 1951, only 162,872 veterans needed to use the out-of-work allowances, many for very short periods. On the other hand, 81,418 received vocational training under the Veterans' Rehabilitation Act, and 53,788 university training. Over ninety per cent of those who received training and education found satisfactory employment. Awaiting-returns allowances were paid to 60,000 veterans when starting their own enterprises including agriculture, and 4,754 veterans received the temporary-incapacitated benefit. The awaiting-returns allowances were very useful to settlers under the Veterans' Land Act.

In November and December 1941, Mr. W.S. Woods, then Associate Deputy Minister of Pensions and National Health, and I visited the prem-

iers of the provinces and the heads of the universities throughout Canada and explained the provisions already made for the rehabilitation of discharged personnel of the armed forces and outlined the newly proposed land settlement legislation. Our plans were given a cordial reception and the provinces all agreed to undertake provincial organization for post-war reconstruction and for the aid of returning servicemen. Our Rehabilitation Committee had promoted the appointment of a federal committee on post-war reconstruction which operated under the terms of PC 6874, September 2, 1941 and I was named as its secretary in its initial stages. The members were Principal F. Cyril James of McGill University, Chairman, Messrs. D.G. McKenzie, J.S. McLean, Tom Moore, Professor Edward Monpetit, and President R.C. Wallace of Queen's University. Dr. Leonard Marsh was appointed research assistant and was soon joined by Dr. O.J. Firestone. I was able to induce Lieutenant-Colonel E.M. MacKay, M.C., M.A., to take over from me as secretary. To digress from the narrative, I may note that this committee in association with a parliamentary committee of reconstruction under Mr. J.G. Turgeon, M.P., sponsored the well-known *Report on Social Security* in March 1943 by Dr. Marsh and reports on housing by Dr. Firestone. About the same time, Dr. Heagerty (father-in-law of Dr. John Deutsch), who had been labouring for some years on the problem of health insurance, had published his well-known report on health insurance. In July 1943, Dr. Charlotte Whitton's critique of these and the *Beveridge Report on Social Security* in Great Britain made in 1942 was published under the title *The Dawn of Ampler Life.*

In Vancouver in December 1941, Mr. W.S. Woods and I persuaded my old friend, the Honourable George M. Weir, former Minister of Education in British Columbia and head of the Department of Education of the University of British Columbia, to undertake the task of organization of the facilities for the vocational and university education under the new Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order. He accompanied us to Ottawa where the Honourable J.L. Ralston, Minister of Defence, asked my minister, the Honourable Ian McKenzie, at Christmas 1941 for my help in setting up a Dependents Board of Trustees which was to supplement allowances paid to dependents of servicemen according to need, to families with more than four children, or which had had heavy expenditures due to sickness or other emergencies. My task was to get a satisfactory draft of an order-in-council, assemble a national board of trustees, and get the first draft of regulations under which the Board would operate. Dr. George Weir left the Department of Veterans' Affairs temporarily to undertake the chairmanship of the Dependents' Board of Trustees. He was assisted by Mr. Jack Pembroke, who later succeeded him as chairman. This useful, relatively new concept of

social assistance based on social workers' reports and on the co-operation of local welfare agencies was welcomed by our rehabilitation committee since any destitution or undue hardship affecting the families of servicemen would inevitably destroy for them the benefits of any civil re-establishment under our plan. By 1941 our Advisory Rehabilitation Committee had succeeded in breaking new ground and each subcommittee was working hard to bring its recommendations into suitable form for an act. The Minister of Pensions reported regularly to Parliament and a parliamentary committee was set up to consider veterans' legislation.

In 1942, the Veterans' Land Act was passed, Gordon Murchison, Superintendent of the Soldiers' Settlement Board, and I being present at the table in front of the Honourable Ian McKenzie, who had charge of the measure in the house. We were available to the select parliamentary committee and also to the Senate committee which considered the bill. Most speeches on the measure were critical of the Soldiers' Settlement Act of World War I. This had been the product of the optimistic pattern of development of the day and laid upon the soldier-settler a burden of debt as high in some cases as 125 per cent of the value of the land, repayable with interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. The 1942 Veterans' Land Act differed in many respects from the old Soldiers' Settlement Act. Indeed we had endeavoured to correct some of the errors of the old act. The Veterans' Land Act provided for variety of types of settlement including part-time farming and commercial fishing, a subsidy paid as a delayed grant after ten years of contract payments by the settler with a three per cent rate of interest, security against loss of equity, modernization of the selection and approval procedures, counselling and supervision services, and considerable leeway as to time of application after the end of rehabilitation. The act remained open to applicants until 1975. It was expected that the applications for qualification since 1942 would reach about 100,000 by 1975.

Of these, over 33,000 veterans settled as full-time farmers, the balance being mainly smallholders. The flexibility of the act is demonstrated by the way in which financial provision up to $40,000 has been made available for full-time farmers and up to $18,000 for smallholders and suburban houses. About 59,000 veterans between 1942 and 1975 earned a conditional grant under the act, and about 32,000 acquired title to their property. Payments of principal and interest remained at a high level. In some provinces, the total paid was 98 or 99 per cent. The subcommittee on land settlement in the period 1940-42 were Mr. Walter S. Woods, who had been a former superintendent of the Soldiers' Settlement Board as its chairman; and as members, Mr. Gordon Murchison and Mr. W.M. Jones of the Soldiers' Settlement Board; Mr. J.N. McAllister and J.S. McGowan of the Colonization

Department of the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National respectively; the former premier of British Columbia; Dr. J.D. McLean of the Canadian Farm Loans Board; Mr. J.S. McLean, President of Canada Packers; Mr. J.A. Proulx, Chief of Extension of the Department of Agriculture of Quebec; Mr. D'Arcy Leonard, General Counsel of the Dominion Mortgage Association; Mr. C.E. Joslyn, Manager of the Lands Department of the Hudson's Bay Company; Mr. Harry Hereford, Dominion Commissioner of Unemployment Relief; Mr. Fred Freer, of the Dominion Mortgage and Investment Corporation; Dr. W.A. Mackintosh of the Department of Finance; Dr. O.A. Lemieux, Dominion Bureau of Statistics; and Dr. G.H. Barton, Deputy Minister of Agriculture. As was the case with all our subcommittees, the members were unpaid, but we did cover traveling expenses and most subcommittee members were accustomed to meetings that ran all day and indeed sometimes until 10 o'clock at night.

Thus by late 1942, parliament had passed the Pension Act 1941, the Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act, and the Veterans' Land Act 1942. There had been established under the War Measures Act the new treatment regulations, the Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order in 1941, while the parliamentary committee on canteens and on post-war reconstruction had made excellent progress. At this stage, it seemed that an attempt should be made to review the past, analyse the new measures, and suggest an agenda for the veterans' program. At the request of the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, I did so in a volume of 468 pages called *Discharged: A Commentary on Civil Re-Establishment of Veterans in Canada*. The book received widespread welcome, was used in libraries and classes of the Canadian Legion Educational Services, and ran into three editions, the author's royalties going to War Amputations of Canada for its hospital work, as I had been associated closely with Mr. Dick Myers, Secretary of War Amputations, with Mr. Ralph Hodgson, who had been the representative dealing with amputee cases arising in Canada from overseas, with their President Padre Lambert, and with Colonel Eddie Baker of the National Institute for the Blind. As an indication of the different climate in which we worked, I note that on October 7, 1942 I addressed in French Les Congressistes de l'Union des Municipalités de la Province de Québec at the Seigneury Club and was thanked by the Mayor of Quebec and the Mayor of Westmount and entertained royally by the delegates, particularly the Mayor of Montreal, who was glad to hear in French a discussion of veterans' rehabilitation even though my French was poor. By September 1943, twelve of our subcommittees had reported and been discharged. There remained the demobilization priorities and methods subcommittee. The returned soldiers' insurance subcommittee had reported and this report remained for

further action. The post-war reconstruction committee had also been very active.

At an expenditure of less than $25,000 in these years, our General Advisory Committee had succeeded in its task of establishing a framework of the civil re-establishment of the veterans of World War II and it was with keen satisfaction that I prepared the report of September 25, 1943 outlining in detail the work done, accompanied by a flow chart and indicating the steps that had been taken as the war developed. We had lost General McDonald by death. He was succeeded by Mr. W.S. Woods as Chairman, who presided over the dinner given in my honour by the members of the General Advisory Committee, the deputy ministers involved, and colleagues on my retirement from the post. Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, chairman of the Canadian section of the Joint Economic Canadian and United States Committee, took me to Montreal for a session under the chairmanship of Dr. Alvin H. Hansen to consider veterans' rehabilitation. During my presentation of our plans the chairman enquired several times whether the measures described were being planned or were in force as legislation or regulations and was surprised to find most of our proposals were already implemented. We had many enquiries from Washington and London about our plans. In the end our general pattern was followed in veterans' legislation in the United States.

The Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, the Minister of Pensions, and others were kind enough to write me in congratulation of what they regarded as a national service. Two remarks have for me a piquant interest. The Deputy Minister of the Department of Pensions and National Health, Dr. R.A. Woodhouse, a medical administrator to whom I was indebted for meeting the late Sir Frederick Banting, had seen grow up around him a new apparatus of veterans' rehabilitation which at times must have surprised him and I have often wondered how he felt about my enthusiasm and vigorous innovations. His letter, among other kind remarks, has the following paragraph: "I recall mentioning long before I knew you were leaving that we had never had an officer without previous experience in the civil service anywhere in Canada, who had conducted himself so successfully as you have done in his relations with the other officials of the Department. You seem to have the knack of making certain that you were approaching the official whose interests might be affected by any matters you had under enquiry and thus kept everyone in a state of happiness instead of getting everyone on edge by careless or thoughtless or deliberately wrong approaches."

The other remark is by the redoubtable Dr. Charlotte Whitton, C.B.E., in an article in *Maclean's*, April 15, 1947 on "The Exploited Sex," dealing

with the lower salaries paid to women. "The war," she writes, "did record some change of course, most notably and due almost entirely to the sense of justice of the late General Harold McDonald and Robert England of the Committee on Re-Establishment of Ex-Service Personnel, was the direct equality of claims and benefits accorded Canadian ex-service women." I may add that of 49,000 ex-service women, one in four accepted training benefits; 2,600 entered university and only five per cent used the out-of-work allowances and these only for very short periods. True, marriage provided an additional re-establishment opportunity. The record of re-establishment of women veterans was remarkable and justified all hopes of our committee in the efficient administration of the special women's branch of the Department of Veterans' Affairs, which carried out the policy which recognized that the re-establishment and urgency of the ex-service woman on discharge was the same as that of the ex-service man and that there was no logical reason for any kind of differential in respect of benefits or discrimination in respect of privileges.

In June 1944, the Department of Veterans' Affairs was established by act of Parliament, taking over the powers of the Department of Pensions with broader terms of reference. The progress of the allies in the war also enabled attention to be given to war service gratuities. Dr. W.C. Clark, Deputy Minister of Finance, and Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, adviser to the Department of Finance, realized the importance of establishing a form of grant which would assist the re-establishment over a post-war period. Accordingly, in August 1944 the War Service Grant Act provided not only for the war service gratuity based on length of service to compensate partially for surrender of civil occupation and remuneration, but also for re-establishment credit equal to the amount of war service gratuity to be spent as approved for such re-establishment purposes as purchase of or repair of a home, of furniture, of tools needed for a trade or business, books or equipment needed, insurance premiums, discharge of indebtedness in respect of a home, the purchase of a business or working capital for a business or necessary clothing. I had the task of preparing the re-establishment credit regulations and setting up local re-establishment credit advisory committees throughout Canada to assist by scrutinizing applications and guiding the use of re-establishment credit, especially in proposed business ventures.

Such was the anxiety of the business community to help set up committees that this was accomplished in a quick trip across Canada without the slightest hitch. In sending out the re-establishment credit regulations, I asked the Deputy Minister, Mr. Walter Woods, whether he would sign a draft which I had prepared for him of a letter which indicated to the officers of the department that ex-servicemen were now not merely *applicants* seek-

ing benefits, but *clients* with money in the bank. Their re-establishment credit should define the attitude to be taken to them by members of the staff. Eligible veterans should be treated as *clients,* which involved the courtesy and consideration which would be given by good bankers to good clients.

By this time, my wife and I had already bought a waterfront property at Patricia Bay, Vancouver Island, and at the request of the minister and his deputy, who urged me to take the chairmanship of the Victoria committee, I agreed that I would serve on it, but felt that there should be a businessman in Victoria as chairman. Mr. Watson, former manager of the Hudson's Bay Company store in Victoria, became Chairman upon my undertaking that I would serve on the committee and help. I am glad to say that the district chairmen of the re-establishment credit committees throughout Canada were included in the 1946 World War II honours list and indeed most were surprised by being accorded the Order of the British Empire. In the meantime attention was being paid to publicity on the measures adopted and to the dissemination of information in the armed forces concerning the re-establishment benefits available on discharge. I supplemented my book *Discharged* by several articles in learned journals and by a brochure on *Canadian Re-Establishment Benefits for Veterans* and another on *Rehabilitation and Re-Establishment* for the Canadian Legion Educational Services. The department issued an official manual, *Back to Civil Life,* and the Wartime Information Board issued a pamphlet by Dr. E.A. Corbett, *Future for Fighters.* Mr. Norman Senior, Secretary to the minister who had served for a time as my successor as executive secretary of the Advisory Rehabilitation Committee to keep it in being in case it was needed, was author of an excellent Collins paperback, *When the Boys Come Home.* I undertook with the Winnipeg *Free Press* to do a weekly article and answer any enquiries from veterans. This column was syndicated and I carried it on from July 3, 1945 to May 13, 1947. Although I was officially retired, the Deputy Minister and staff kept me in close touch and paid me visits at Patricia Bay.

I had been a strong advocate of the university training provision and Mr. Jamieson, the Superintendent, was a friend and one in whom I had great confidence. The universities were crowded and the need for staff and facilities had become urgent. Once again I was to travel across Canada and encourage administrators to do the impossible. The minister's announcement of my appointment as Chairman of University Requirements said: "With more than 15,000 ex-service men and women now registered in Canadian universities and an estimated 15,000 more to come by September of 1946, the universities are facing serious problems in providing adequate classroom accommodation and laboratory equipment. The Committee on

University Requirements will study these matters and will report to the Department on the best means of solving these problems." My committee consisted of Principal R.C. Wallace of Queen's representing the Conference of University Heads, the Very Reverend Dr. Phillip Cornellier, Rector of the University of Ottawa, Colonel Leonard Mills, the Controller of the Department of Veterans' Affairs, and Mr. R.B. Bryce, representing the Treasury.

Our report covered accommodation for instructional facilities, living accommodation, year-round operations, restricted enrolment of non-veterans, increased daily use of facilities, use of war assets surplus furniture and huts, laboratory science equipment, housing, extension of the supplementary grant to the universities from 1946 to 1947 of $150 for each veteran in the academic year. We established an accounting report as basis of claim which proved acceptable to all universities, including those in the Province of Quebec. Since the re-establishment in civil life of former members of the forces on discharge from the forces was clearly a federal responsibility, there could be no constitutional or legal objection to the receipt of money paid on their behalf to universities and an accounting of the transaction. In any case, student veterans and faculties and administrators co-operated without bickering or complaint, and despite incredibly crowded conditions and improvised complex schedules of classes and inadequate laboratory equipment the job was done. I recall the millions of dollars of equipment and huts declared surplus by the navy, army, and air forces at our request. Sometimes, the senior officer would telephone me and worry about my powers, but as the order-in-council appointing our committee was vague on that, I as chairman, reassured him and meantime Mr. Berry, the War Assets Administrator, held his hand as to the disposal of the equipment, furniture, and huts declared surplus as needed by the officers of the Department of Defence.

Ingenuity and skill put to good use amazing amounts of war assets material. The University of Toronto leased the Ajax surplus war plant and opened up what was in effect another university to take care of two thousand. McGill established Dawson College at an R.C.A.F. training camp with four hundred veterans. Dr. Gordon Shrum at the University of British Columbia, with his usual fantastic energy and freedom from red tape, moved one hundred and twelve huts to the campus of the University of British Columbia.

The universities of Alberta and New Brunswick used near-by camps. Nearly every university was able to secure huts from camps for temporary use, which lasted for years. As one who had found Queen's University a place of healing after World War I, it was a great experience to have had a

share not only in drafting the provisions that made this resumption of interrupted education possible for tens of thousands of veterans, but also to visit the universities as Chairman of University Requirements to see the crowded classrooms and the end results of our plans. Once again, the minister and the department endeavoured to persuade me to accept an appointment in the administration, and I agreed to remain as Chairman of University Requirements for a year without pay in case of need. Dr. Walter S. Woods could never quite overcome his surprise at my reluctance to accept a civil service post and refers to this in his autobiography *The Men Who Came Back* and in the official history of the department entitled *Rehabilitation: A Combined Operation*. There is on page 9 the following paragraph:

> Great credit must be given to Robert England, M.C., M.A., LL.D., Executive Secretary to the General Advisory Committee for his superlative work in organizing the program for the consideration of the committee and its sub-committees. At the close of this work he declined to accept the position of administrative responsibility in the rehabilitation work of the Department, preferring rather to devote himself to research work in veterans' problems, which he did while holding a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation producing the book *Twenty Million World War Veterans,* which is commended to the reader's attention. Dr. England, who is the author of a number of books, is an outstanding scholar. He led the Canadian Legion Educational Services Overseas during the early part of World War II. He certainly left his mark on Canada's rehabilitation program.

I am afraid Walter Woods exaggerated the scholarship, but my decline of the offer of senior civil service preferment may, I think on reflection, have helped me win necessary co-operation. My work threatened no one's job. Perhaps this submerging of ambition in service may be an ingredient of the ability to win confidence for one's proposals, particularly if they are of an innovating character. It helped in arguing the case to be able to place it on a logical disinterested basis and may perhaps have accentuated the speed and enthusiasm with which proposals were adopted.

The estimated cost of rehabilitation of World War II was less than one and a half billion dollars with respect to a million enlisted personnel. One-third of this, nearly half a billion dollars, was for war service gratuities, and nearly a quarter of a billion for administration and treatment, so about a billion represents re-establishment grants for training, pre-matriculation courses, university education, aid to business, homes, furniture, tools, insurance, V.L.A. farms, and V.L.A. housing. Only 82 million was spent in a decade for unemployment benefit and out-of-work allowances. There are

few things in my old age which give me so much pleasure as to recall having been given a key role in starting the Canadian Legion Educational Services with its vista of a promised land for veterans, and in the planning of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation and my subsequent ventures in establishing the re-establishment credit facilities and my year as Chairman of University Requirements (1945-6).

11

CONCERN FOR CITIZENSHIP

I was sharply reminded by a well-known author of the academic community in Winnipeg in the thirties that I had not been born in Canada and therefore presumably could not share in the distinctive attitude of native Canadians. I replied that I had chosen my country and perhaps that might be deemed meritorious. I might have added that I could not accept a dogma of Canadian citizenship that would have implied that my Irish brother killed in France when serving with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in World War I had no claim on the fullest prestige in the citizenship of his adopted country. His name, with thousands of other immigrants' names recorded in the nation's Book of Remembrance in the Memorial Chamber of the Peace Tower at Ottawa, should rebuke such parochial thinking. For myself, my task has been to live for Canada. My front-line comradeship with Canadians in the fields of France, my friendship with immigrants and French-Canadians in Western Canada, my involvement in rural and adult education, agricultural extension, and community activities reaffirmed my *consent* to Canadian citizenship, made its *conservation* significant. and by *co-operation* I came to share in its rewards, responsibilities, and opportunities. In 1933, as President of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, I associated with Mr. Justice A.K. Dysart, my predecessor in that office, in the establishment in his court of citizenship ceremonies for those receiving certificates of naturalization and I contributed my share of speeches on the subject not only on that occasion but at many service clubs and at various gatherings throughout Winnipeg. My usual topic for July first celebrations was the story of my countryman from the mountains of Mourne, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a Father of Confederation.

In the French-Canadian communities of Western Canada at this time, whatever the links with Quebec, no one had any doubt of the primary loyalty to Canada. This was a widespread sentiment in all communities whatever the ethnic origin, and the school, church, and Canadian Legion Hall in the small towns promoted common devotion to Canada and to its constitutional monarchy. This loyalty to Canada was sharpened by a devotion to a land that never was, on the part of each ethnic group, because most of the peoples that make up Canada were in fact defeated peoples, yet in their traditions and minds unbeaten: United Empire Loyalists, French Canadians, Scots, Welsh, Irish, Gaelic-speaking, Ukrainians, Poles —

whose songs, dances, folklore, and social rituals celebrated cultures and causes for which their forefathers had fought and lost. The illuminated scroll of their minds turned on a St. Andrew's, a St. Patrick's night, a St. Jean Baptiste Day, a Polish celebration, a Greek Orthodox Christmas in January, to scenes and colours alien to Canada and yet somehow bringing Canada closer. My Irish temperament could sympathize with the easily aroused lost cause and the bellicosity against arbitrary authority sometimes evidenced in the polemics and pleasure of opposition.

It was no surprise therefore to me to find in about half a million occupational history forms of the unlisted personnel of the Canadian armed forces of World War II in 1943 that the equivalent of three divisions spoke a second language, mainly European other than English or French, and we could have assembled a division which could speak a Slav language fluently — about 12,000 spoke Ukrainian, about 9,000 spoke German, 3,000 Polish. By 1944, ten per cent of those killed in action were non-Anglo-Saxon and non-French. The list of the Distinguished Flying Crosses awarded to junior officers of the R.C.A.F. includes many of European origin. Mr. and Mrs. Deutcher from Odessa, Saskatchewan, emigrants from Austria, had eight sons in the R.C.A.F. A posthumous Victoria Cross to Pilot Officer Andrew Charles Mynarski once again underlined that no one race has a monopoly of bravery or Canadian patriotism. A young, blonde, Canadian soldier, Sergeant Fred Koenig of Camrose, who was killed in 1943, was born in 1921 in Hamm, Germany, a town so often a target for our bombers. "Be not forgetful," says Holy Writ, "to entertain strangers for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Can anyone really estimate the heartache of many a bereaved immigrant mother of those war years, whose sympathy, old world tradition, and love of family must have sharpened her grief and made her sacrifice to the land of her adoption seem a dark and inscrutable tragedy. I had superintended in Europe during the twenties the selection of thousands of immigrant settlers from the plains of central Europe, Bessarabia, Bukowina, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Austria, and parts of Germany. This was the last free movement before depression conditions, World War II, and finally the iron curtain, first gradually then with fearful finality closed the gates of opportunity. In the twenties then, I saw many families such as the Deutchers leave central Europe, and I reflect upon the fact that many of the boys eight to fifteen whom I saw must have served in the Canadian forces during their twenties after a Canadian schooling. No doubt some were beneficiaries of the Veterans' Charter, which I helped to prepare, and some died for Canada.

Shortly after taking over my duties as Executive Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Rehabilitation in 1940, I was asked by Mr. Norman

Robertson, Under-Secretary for External Affairs, to join an interdepartmental committee dealing with the participation of our non-Anglo-Saxon fellow citizens in the war effort. At that time we had problems of communist opposition to the Canadian entry into the war. Subversive activities in communist halls throughout Canada involved closure and the internment of leaders. We were in touch with most of the leaders of the ethnic groups, the majority of whom supported the war effort; recruitment was encouraged, and every step taken to maintain a Canadian united front. This committee included representatives of External Affairs, the Department of National War Services, the R.C.M.P., the Censorship Branch, the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property, and the Wartime Information Board. We endeavoured to have all agencies of the government do whatever possible to win tolerance and understanding throughout Canada. The C.B.C. resurrected the "Ventures in Citizenship" program of 1939 which I had helped organize, and broadcast the series under the title "Canadians All." Professor Watson Kirkconnell used the title for a small booklet of which 300,000 copies were distributed. The Wartime Information Board interested itself in the foreign-language press and various media reaching the ethnic groups in Canada. In November 1940 a conference on Canadian citizenship took place, at which under the leadership of such men as the Honourable C.H. Blakeney of New Brunswick, the Honourable Duncan McArthur of Ontario, the Honourable J.W. Estey of Saskatchewan, and other representatives of the departments of education throughout the rest of Canada there was established a committee on co-operation in Canadian citizenship.

With Dr. H.M. Tory, I had a share in drafting its aims and objects. I saw a good deal of Dr. Tory and did what I could to help him in his endeavours to create what became Carleton College and later Carleton University. The Canadian Council for Education for Canadian Citizenship thus formed in 1940 consisted of eight provincial departments of education, the Canadian Education Association, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, and the Canadian Teachers' Federation. During the war, it prepared and distributed much printed material and sponsored two books, *Charters of Our Freedom* by Professor Reginald E. Trotter and *A Pocketbook of Canada,* edited by John Robbins, each with a foreword by Dr. Tory. In all these matters, there was behind the work the skilful hand of the Secretary of the council, Dr. John Robbins, later President of Brandon University and finally Canadian Minister to the Vatican. Every educational body in Canada used him as a midwife at its birth — Canadian Legion Educational Services, the Canadian Council for Citizenship, the Humanities Council, the Social Science Research Council, the Canada Foundation, and the Con-

ference of Canadian Universities. After World War II, the name of the Citizenship Council became the Canadian Citizenship Council and for a time had as its able Executive Director the late John P. Kidd, brother of the well-known and distinguished J. Roby Kidd of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (as Director he succeeded Dr. E.A. Corbett in that post). I maintained a contact with the Council of Citizenship into the fifties, especially during the period of John Kidd, who visited me at Comox. During World War II, the National Film Board under John Grierson, whom I first met in Winnipeg on his first visit to Canada, filmed *Peoples in Canada* (1940), *Iceland and the Prairies* (1941), *Ukrainian Christmas* (1942), *Land of Quebec* (1942-7), *La terre de nos aieux* (1943), *New Scotland* (1943), *Poland in the Prairies* (1947), and *Ukrainian Dance*. A provisional Canadian Hand and Arts and Crafts Committee, with Mr. Deane H. Russell as Secretary, encouraged work that was already notable in the success of the Canadian Handicraft Guild.

There came, too, a greater interest in Ottawa in the foreign-language press, and it needs to be recorded that these non-English papers in the main helped greatly to explain the issues and to encourage Canadian citizenship. In November 1941, the Special Nationalities Branch was set up in the Department of National War Services, under Professor G.W. Simpson of the Department of History of the University of Saskatchewan, who with Mr. Tracy Phillips, a European expert, had suggested that there should be an advisory committee composed of prominent individuals known to be interested in such questions to assist the administration. Professor Simpson was appointed senior adviser to the Director of Public Information and Mr. Phillips, European adviser. In January 1942, the Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship and Communities of Recent European Origin was appointed and the administrative personnel of the Nationalities Branch was strengthened by the appointment of Dr. V.J. Kaye as Liaison Officer of the foreign-language press, together with an editorial assistant and one stenographer. Professor Simpson was obliged to resign from active work owing to ill health in the autumn of 1942, but remained Chairman of the advisory committee.

Meantime, the Wartime Information Board had undergone several changes and finally after reorganization reported to the Prime Minister. The Nationalities Branch was left with the Department of National War Services; the Wartime Information Board did not concern itself with the foreign-language press except to secure from the censorship authorities a digest from time to time from the office of Mr. L. Biberovich in the Department of National Revenue. A change of ministers took place: the new Minister, Major-General LaFlèche, was obliged to operate without a deputy

minister for some time. Mr. Justice Davis of Saskatchewan, the former Deputy Minister who had taken the initiative in respect of the development of the work, had reached the conclusion that the work could not be developed as effectively as it should under the present set-up. He therefore recommended to the incoming Minister, General LaFlèche, that the Branch should be abolished. The Minister, however, decided that in view of the beginning which had been made it was better to give the present set-up a little more time to continue the program, and if conditions warranted, the whole matter might be approached again in the form of a reorganization. His Deputy Minister, Mr. C.H. Payne, was appointed in March 1943.

The Branch had suffered somewhat from these changes and also from the illness of staff since Mr. Phillips had a serious injury in 1943 and Dr. Kaye was on leave of absence for six months owing to illness during the winter of 1943-4. There were also other losses of staff and it was difficult to find replacements. Despite these handicaps, the committee and the branch continued to function, issuing a weekly release as to the use made of the Canadian topics in the foreign-language press, keeping liaison with the Red Cross, auxiliary services, the National War Finance Committee, and various friendship councils and community councils throughout the country, initiating helpful newspaper stories, and working actively with the various ethnic groups throughout the country. The Committee on Co-operation and Canadian Citizenship reviewed from time to time the various projects which might assist in the promotion of greater unity, and found Dr. Murray Gibbon and Professor Watson Kirkconnell very helpful in suggestions and in the projects which they initiated. I had on successful completion of the planning of veterans' rehabilitation in October 1943 remained in touch with the Department of Veterans' Affairs and also with the Committee on Citizenship and in the spring of 1944, I agreed at the request of General LaFlèche to come to Ottawa to review the situation of the Branch. I was given a free hand to investigate and report. At this time, Colonel the Honourable J.L. Ralston, Minister of Defence, was faced with a crisis in the Department of Defence especially concerning manpower requirements of the army, and he was particularly anxious about the position of his Deputy Minister, Colonel George Currie, who wished to return to his accounting business in Montreal. Mr. Ralston approached Victor Sifton, publisher of the Winnipeg *Free Press*, to return to service in Ottawa, where he had been for a time as Master-General of Ordnance. Mr. Ralston told the Prime Minister on March 21, 1944 that Victor Sifton was needed to get the necessary men. Accordingly, the Prime Minister had a long talk on March 28 with Victor Sifton who said he was most anxious to be of service, if he was needed, but he doubted very much that he could render the service

asked for. He told the Prime Minister he doubted if Mr. Ralston would back up the changes that he (Mr. Sifton) thought would have to be made; he had left the service earlier in the war because the "brass hats" were determined not to have any civilian come in and be given real power, and so he would be up against this opposition on return to Ottawa. He also said everything had been left to the eleventh hour and he had pointed out many of these things to the Minister when he was with the department.

When I boarded the plane at Patricia Bay (Victoria) on a return journey to Ottawa I was joined by Major-General Letson, the Adjutant-General, who had, under Mr. Ralston's direction, been hunting for me. As a result of his conversation I agreed to meet the Minister when I reached Ottawa after a visit I was making to Saskatoon to see Professor G.W. Simpson. When I reached Ottawa, I saw both Deputy Minister Colonel George Currie and Mr. Grant Dexter of the *Free Press*. Both men were insistent that I meet the Minister's wish to help in administration. I asked Grant Dexter to telephone Victor Sifton to say that I would join him if he accepted the responsibility, but he had already made it clear to the Minister that his decision was irrevocable. Thus on Good Friday, April 7, I found myself confronted by a Minister who was determined to sweep away my objections. I had gained Mr. Ralston's confidence as a result of the work that I had done in helping him to set up the Dependents' Board of Trustees in 1941 and he also knew how I had handled the Veterans' Rehabilitation Plan. In any case, he was aware that other ministers and the Deputy Minister of Finance had offered me employment and he had a tendency to want anyone wanted by others. I had a not too intimate knowledge of the exact manpower figures, though as Executive Secretary of Rehabilitation I had been supplied with much data normally restricted. I was aware of the disharmony between General McNaughton and his minister and I knew something of General Stuart, Chief of Staff in London, and the attitude to my work of his deputy, General Price Montague.

I convinced the Minister after some discussion that my appointment would be disliked by the generals, who had not been sympathetic to my approach to the problem of in-service education in the formation of the Canadian Legion Educational Services. To the senior officers in the Canadian Forces Overseas, particularly at C.M.H.Q., modern statistical controls, business methods, psychological testing and allocation, streamlined procedures, flexibility, and the use of pedagogical principles in training could hardly be said to have been within their experience or congenial to their world of regulations and orders. The result was an army command mainly Anglo-Saxon and English-speaking which did not, at the top, adequately represent the French-speaking and ethnic populations of Canada.

The rapid expansion of the Canadian Army had one good result; it gave quick promotion to many officers, and their work and that of the army was altogether admirable. As a fighting force their record was distinguished but in the spring of 1944 one wondered if a smaller and more mobile armoured force under the brilliant General Burns with the help of General Worthington and perhaps a more imaginative outlook might have made recruiting easier in Canada and evaded the conscription crisis in late 1944. Professor Lower writes (page 562) in *Colony to Nation:* "Of the millions embodied in the Canadian Armed Forces the ability with which they were organized was splendid. As fighting men they were unsurpassed. They could have been made the basis for a national feeling that would have stamped a character and unity upon the country. Such men might have become the vehicle to integrate the Canadian community." In Canada there were pockets of imaginative enterprise in the Department of Defence, notably in Manpower Allocation, much of it due to General Brock Chisholm. Some use was being made of psychologists and of competent statisticians to deal with the manpower situation, but much of this did not transfer overseas. The framework of an army with a large overhead and ancillary headquarters staff, the unprecedented four years without fighting (except for the Dieppe raid), and the conservatism of the Canadian generals, who were apprehensive of detaching units to be directed by fighting British or American senior commands, fastened on the Canadian Army rigid lines of military discipline and a logistic bureaucracy of the staff college pattern of an older British Army tradition.

The generals tended to think of the political Minister as expendable and the Minister reciprocated by considering them indispensable — a certain recipe for disaster. In our discussion on Good Friday 1944, the Minister enquired whether if the way were clear on the part of the generals overseas I would consider coming in to help him. Finally it was agreed that he would cable General Stuart on the matter. I declined an invitation to go to the Good Friday morning service with him at his Baptist Church and he later called me at the Elgin Hotel and read me a cable to Canadian Military Headquarters, London, which gave me such a glowing endorsement that a negative reply would have been unthinkable. I asked him, with all due deference, if he would be good enough to drop all the explanatory, eulogistic sections and simply enquire for a frank opinion about whether I might be useful in a civilian capacity at the level he had in mind. I was therefore very relieved and pleased, when he later intimated to me that there was some hesitancy in the reply. I was able then to take up my work in the Department of National War Service with respect to the reorganization of the Nationalities Division. It should be kept in mind that there was no manpower crisis

concerning the air and naval forces, who recruited their personnel without any difficulty. The situation had arisen mainly with respect to the army and in the fall of that year, the crisis brought about the resignation of the Minister of Defence, Mr. Ralston, and his replacement by General McNaughton, who chose as his representative in London, General Price Montague.

In the new Justice Building, I took stock of the Nationalities Branch of the National War Services, met the leaders of ethnic groups, closely followed the foreign-language press, and in June made my report. I noted in summary that we had little and in some cases no Canadian war effort news in our foreign-language periodicals, which covered a constituency of over 3.25 million Canadians. There was evidence that the editors would be willing to print much more of such news. There was no citizenship-training for applicants for naturalization; little knowledge of the armed service of tens of thousands of Canadians of European origin; little participation in national committees and councils by members of these groups; race prejudice while diminishing was still prevalent; too much emphasis was being directed towards European political objectives by propaganda among the groups rather than towards participation in Canadian aims. There were now in rural communities thousands of non-Anglo-Saxon bereaved mothers and other relatives of servicemen. Their irreparable loss on behalf of Canada should endear them to Canadians as neighbours; but in that respect tactful personal contact seemed unprovided-for. Agencies of government and great national organizations still showed hesitancy at times in employing personnel who were born in Canada, but were of central European origin. The contribution of non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians could be enlarged by the growth of greater sympathy and co-operation on the part of Canadians of the older stocks.

Much of the resistance to fuller assimilation or fuller integration lay in public apathy and lack of interest in the question and some unwillingness to develop active attitudes of good will towards the newer groups. The Canadian Legion as yet had not become conscious of the future cosmopolitan composition of the ranks of ex-servicemen. We were not winning from our present co-operation the degree of unity we ought to have had for the post-war period. Segregationist tendencies were still operative. We were far behind the United States in programs inculcating citizenship attitudes and our task of creating such programs would prove much more difficult than theirs since we were more likely to be cooler and more critical of a unitary mass drive. It could not be said that in literature, art, music, drama, physical culture, broadcasting, or film production we were doing all possible to develop the special abilities and talents of the varied culture and to integrate

them in the Canadian way of life. Such work as had been done by folk festivals and handicraft guilds had received little national encouragement.

It was probable that we had before us at that time two or three more years of war succeeded by years of political adjustment in Europe, which would disturb many of our peoples of European origin. It was a measure of national wisdom to attach them closely to Canadian ideals and aspirations in the interest of their own peace of mind and the future welfare of their children. In view of this situation, I recommended the permanent establishment of a Citizenship Division (Division de Formation Civique) and in agreement with the Civil Service Commission outlined the establishment and specifications for each post to be set up, basing it on a bilingual directorate with academic or special linguistic qualifications, a research assistant, editor, readers, and clerks. It follows in some part the directorate which I had originally endeavoured to set up for the Canadian Legion Educational Services. The Minister, General LaFlèche, approved the Report and in the spring of 1944 an increased estimate was made for the department, an increase from $18,347 in the previous year to $46,367 for the coming fiscal year. After a helpful discussion of the estimate in the House of Commons, in which my work was defended by several members of the opposition as well as by the Minister, the estimate was approved.[7] My report, now in the Canadian Archives, first set out the aims, methods, and media of the division and looked towards the time when it would be developed alongside the naturalization branch as part of the Department of the Secretary of State, the preparation of a Citizenship Act, and the inauguration of a program of citizenship training and of a conferral of citizenship ceremony. The second recommendation asked for a clearer and more adequate definition of a Canadian citizen or Canadian national; incorporation into the act of the terms of PC 5842 providing for: (a) naturalization of Canadians serving outside of Canada with the naval, military, or air forces of Canada without fee, and (b) procedure of declaration of intention; the authorization of citizenship training as a prerequisite of naturalization, such training to consist in part of instruction in the history and institutions of Canada with certain minimum requirements to be established to the satisfaction of the minister with respect to the Secretary of State of Canada (this last proposal would mean an addition to section IV of the act, "the formula to be agreed upon by the Council of Education for Citizenship"); authorization of a ceremony of naturalization so that certificates which had been issued for applicants should be handed to the successful applicants in public in an authorized ceremony; the Council of Education for Citizenship should after a study of the various voluntary ceremonies of naturalization, now being conducted under the auspices of

Canadian clubs and other bodies, suggest a form of ceremony which would be most suitable throughout the Dominion, and become a schedule authorized in the new act. "The preparation of curricula and suggestions as to the methods of instruction should be carried out by the Council of Education for Citizenship and made available to provincial departments of education or such other provincial departments as may be charged with the instruction of adults with the view to adoption by the Provincial Government of such curricula and methods and with a view to securing provincial co-operation in carrying out the program."

The Minister and his deputy and all concerned with the Citizenship Committee received the report warmly and before leaving Ottawa to visit the leaders of ethnic groups in Western Canada and see Professor Simpson at Saskatoon, Mrs. R.F. McWilliams, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor at Winnipeg, and other members of the committee, I had to find a director. I succeeded in securing Mr. Frank Foulds, M.Sc., from the Department of Agriculture, who had a notable record in agricultural extension work, knew Western Canada and the large ethnic group settlements, and had a wide experience in boy scout work. My secretary, Miss Gwen Baxter, agreed to remain with the division and Dr. V.J. Kaye and some of the translators who had rendered notable service. Mr. Agnew joined as research assistant and laid the foundations of the documentation and publications. Throughout 1944 I was kept advised of the work of the division and frequently was consulted by Mr. Foulds until his death.

On November 1, 1945, the Citizenship Division was transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Department of the Secretary of State. The Honourable Paul Martin, the new Minister, read my report and determined to proceed with my recommendations for a Canadian Citizenship Act. With parliamentary skill, political sagacity, and imagination, he piloted the measure through the House of Commons. It became law in 1946, with the effective date of January 1, 1947. Under its terms, persons born in Canada, children of Canadian-born parents, and British subjects with continuous domicile in Canada for five years were declared to be Canadian citizens. Provision was made to grant citizenship to legally landed immigrants of good character who had acquired Canadian domicile, had an adequate knowledge of English or French and of the responsibilities and privileges of Canadian citizenship, and who had given notice of intention a year before application, thus giving time for instruction and also enabling the courts to issue certificates of citizenship in a public ceremony. Some changes were made in the act in 1953 but the act which became effective on January 1, 1947 at last gave a clear definition of Canadian citizenship.

By 1950, the Citizenship Division had become the Citizenship Branch of

the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and more recently has reverted to the Department of the Secretary of State, as I recommended originally in 1944 on its inauguration. I had in my work the support of the Advisory Committee, Professor G.W. Simpson, the Deputy Minister, Mr. C.H. Payne, and the Minister, General LaFlèche; all of these men contributed to the successful solution. There is always in Ottawa a hierarchy in departments and in the war days the order was: External Affairs, followed by Finance, Defence, Munitions, and Supplies. I recall Mr. J.W. Pickersgill, then Secretary to the Prime Minister, asking me facetiously how I was getting on in the twilight zone of the National War Services. I was not quick enough to reply to the slightly pejorative term, by saying that I was midwife in the twilight sleep to the birth of a federal agency that would outlast the World War II defence agencies, and that the concept of citizenship was as vital to the survival of Canada as the Polymer Corporation or research into the splitting of the atom.

I kept in touch with the Citizenship Branch through the fifties and sometimes represented them in Vancouver in civil service selection teams interviewing candidates for posts in the Branch. I am happy to say that on one such occasion, we selected Professor W.G. Black, Ph.D., who for a long time was the excellent representative of the Branch in British Columbia and rendered outstanding service to the cause of Canada. He was a warm friend of the new citizens, whom he encouraged to improve their knowledge of Canada and accept the responsibilities of citizenship. In 1944-5 I was engaged in setting up the re-establishment credit organization for the Department of Veterans' Affairs, followed in 1945-6 by chairmanship of the University Requirements Committee, relating to veterans receiving higher education.

While living on Vancouver Island I had thus an unusual relationship with the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State's Department and the Department of Veterans' Affairs, since locally their senior representatives consulted me frequently; the heads of branches in these departments in Ottawa kept me informed and visited me from time to time to talk over their problems. I also served in the late forties as a member of the local Victoria Re-Establishment Credit Advisory committee, which I had set up in 1945, and I kept in touch with the Veterans' Land Act Advisory Committee. In 1945-6 I lectured frequently at army camps under arrangement by Captain R.W. Robertson, the education officer in the army for Vancouver Island. Each week I did a syndicated article for the Winnipeg *Free Press* answering veterans' queries. In 1951, when the Bureau of Current Affairs was established in the Department of Defence, I undertook some lectures at the Comox air base, before the death of its able young director, Dr. Harry

Low, with whom I had worked in Winnipeg in the thirties and later in Ottawa.

In 1948, the University of Manitoba conferred on me an LL.D. *honoris causa,* and my wife and I paid a brief and very happy visit to Winnipeg. In the late forties, as a Guggenheim Foundation Fellow, I gathered a great deal of data about veterans' affairs, problems, and programs of re-establishment and rehabilitation. I spent some time at the Hoover Library, Stanford University campus, Palo Alto, California, and also in Washington with the Veterans' Administration, where I saw something of their facilities. The result of this study of veterans' problems was published in 1950 and called *Twenty Million World War Veterans.* It had a favourable reception, but the circulation was more limited than *Discharged,* which I had done in 1943. In 1948, in co-operation with the Curriculum Committee of the Department of Education, Saskatchewan, I completed a highschool textbook on mid-century orientation of Canada for the course in civics, called *Contemporary Canada* and published by W.J. Gage and Company Limited, Toronto. The book was widely used for a decade; I was glad to share in an effort to make the subject of Canadian citizenship more significant in the highschool. I also contributed to the *Encyclopedia Americana* and the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* and acted in an advisory capacity to the editor, being particularly happy in my association with Principal R.C. Wallace of Queen's and the distinguished editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia Americana,* Dr. Lavinia P. Dudley, now its Editor-in-Chief emeritus. I was also happy to be associated with the work done by Dr. John Robbins as editor of the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* and his successor Mr. J. Cromwell Young. During the past decade the late Professor Donald Creighton and President Davidson Dunton of Carleton University have been chairmen of the Advisory Committee for the *Encyclopedia Americana* and I have remained on the committee associated with each of them.

Always locally, both when we lived at Patricia Bay and at Comox, there was work to do relating to citizenship. In Comox, in the local branch of the Canadian Legion, I took my share of membership tasks, helped to organize the scout troop, and did what I could to help the Comox Public Library. Mrs. Margot Simon and her husband had had a remarkable career in the Rural School Movement in the United States and in the development of libraries in underprivileged communities. Both understood the value of vocational skills and of the practical arts and their knowledge of agricultural extension and rural schools was unrivalled. They retired early to Comox, which had the benefit of their experience and unusual skill. Mrs. Simon at once began to build up a library and in the village we had the benefit of her unconventional and sometimes revolutionary ways of encour-

aging reading and securing books. The library is now part of the Vancouver Regional Library, serviced by library vans. The importance of reading materials, newspapers, periodicals, and books is now greater than ever in our television age. Adult education has a vital role in the dissemination of information about the duties and privileges of citizenship and the meaning, purpose, and potential of our organs of government. "The characteristic danger of great nations like the Roman or the English which have a long history of continuous creation," warned Bagehot, "is that they may at last fail from not comprehending the great institutions they have created." Canada, a legatee of both these great nations, is handicapped to some degree in this comprehension by lack of the educational apparatus of a unitary state, but its bilingual French- and English-speaking heritage, its provincial autonomies in education, its cultures, its regional differences can become the dams and conduits through which the water of life and freedom may give power to a fulfilment society in this realm of destiny.

12

AS I KNEW THEM

When one looks back on the past, there can be nothing but gratitude to so many who helped to make tasks easier to accomplish. Competent, loyal staff, comradely co-operation of colleagues, support and counsel of seniors and chiefs, perhaps may have been expected, but outside the circle of the job there was, in Western Canada in particular, a generation of remarkable people whom I knew in the twenties, thirties, and forties who were pioneers in one fashion or another. For example, just think of such women as Nellie McClung, Cora Hind, Miriam Green Ellis, Margaret Newton, Violet McNaughton, Mrs. Kenneth Haig, and Mrs. R.F. McWilliams. What a record of achievement these women have, and in what other region of Canada were there such forthright and gifted women. In the Winnipeg *Free Press* I had great kindness shown me by each of as remarkable a group as has ever been assembled to serve a newspaper — John W. Dafoe, George V. Ferguson, Major H. Moore, D.B. Rogers, Grant Dexter, Jimmy McAnsh, Inga Thomson, T.B. Roberton, J.B. McGeachy — and on the *Tribune*, Bill McTavish, Randolph Patton, John Bird, and Professor W.T. Allison. Those were days when Leonard Brockington would call up and ask for a word wanted by J.B. McGeachy. Those were days when at a service club lunch or an evening meeting you could hear E.K. Williams or Leonard Brockington, Sidney Smith or Marcus Hyman or in the pulpit, the Reverend J.S. Bonnell (later Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York) or the Reverend Dr. Gordon (Ralph Connor), or Principal Graham. The eloquence of my old friend Dr. John Mackay on the platform or in the pulpit was always to me most effective. In St. Boniface, Brother Joseph and Father d'Eschambault cheered many an hour.

The University of Manitoba had a good quota of distinguished scholars and scientists. The needs and primary position of agriculture had stimulated the biological sciences, plant pathology, and agricultural research, and among staff were such men as Cyril Goulden, a brilliant mathematician whose wife, Flora Matheson Goulden, was an internationally known violinist. United College had as president a distinguished Hebrew scholar, W.C. Graham, and on his staff were the polymath poet, linguist, and president of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, Watson Kirkconnell, and the well-known historian Arthur Lower. Dr. and Mrs. Speechly, educated in the classical tradition, were both active, and when I asked at a dinner at

their home about the derivation of a word "epigone," the host stopped carving and brought to the table their Liddell and Scott Lexicon to enlighten me. The word had been used in controversy by Judge Stubbs to describe the Attorney-General at that time, Bill Major. Our old friends W.A. McLeod of the Wheat Pool and his wife Mary, who was active with the Manitoba Handicraft Guild, were hospitable, as also were the Misses Bessie and Dorothy Bulman. Through them we were introduced to many who remained in our memory as part of our happy life. At the risk of invidiousness, it may be useful in illustration of the events and projects discussed in previous chapters to offer brief references to the men with whom I was most closely associated in Western Canada who gave me their friendship. This may suggest why some of the projects with which I was associated had a measure of success, despite the slender equipment with which I tackled them. These men were, in scholarship, vision, and faith, not only great leaders who left their mark on western Canada, but who had a capacity for friendship and for fuelling any fire of idealism one possessed.

ROBERT CHARLES WALLACE: GEOLOGIST, EDUCATOR, UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT

I am always astonished by the temerity and facility shown by writers of profiles and character studies. In this case, I have neither the scientific training nor the academic assurance to offer any clear picture of this distinguished Canadian. There are special hazards in writing of him. In a quarter of a century of my association with him, I found him a reticent man, quite frank and clear about the business in hand and contemporary affairs but rarely speaking of his past. I traveled many miles with him in Alberta on business through rural ethnic group communities on the Canadian National Community Progress Competitions in the thirties, and remember one excursion into the past.

The veil lifted before an audience of young Scandinavian children at Camrose. He was greatly moved and in his address said: "You have come from the sea, your Viking fathers knew and used the sea, and some day you will find your way back." In 1941, my wife and I had a holiday at Brackley Beach, Prince Edward Island, in the same holiday home as Principal and Mrs. Wallace and their lovely children. We found the parents fascinated by the sea, sand, rocks, and terrain, but I noticed that he was reading the latest sociological study of social and political planning publishd by Routledge and Kegan Paul. In 1946 when I was chairman of the University Requirements Committee in Ottawa and was returning the interim report with his signature as member representing the Conference of Canadian Universities, he noted, "You have done a real job and I hope that you can

now have some relaxation in your estate in the west." I knew he was nostalgic for the sea at our doors. His last letter to me is dated January 4, 1955. He died on January 25, 1955.

He was born in the Orkney Islands of Scotland on January 15, 1881. Here were sea, wild tides, great winds, and I am told the landscape, bleak and treeless, has a fantastic, ethereal beauty. It was a nursery of Hudson's Bay Company men, noble women, and lovers of our northern Canadian land. Mrs. Wallace (née Elizabeth Harcus Smith) was also an Orcadian, a beautiful and gracious lady with quiet humour and shy originality. When her husband spoke of the Canadian North as having the feminine charm of undiscovered ability, did he refer to his lovely lady? I learned something of Orcadians in the home of Mr. and Mrs. James Thomson in Winnipeg. He was a member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and its land commissioner in its period of greatest expansion. His daughters, Thelma and Inga, had names that matched their questing intelligence and keen sense of values. The Ultima Thule of the ancients never seemed too far away.

One day Thelma remarked on a lonely journey taken by Mrs. Wallace to the Orkneys and explained it to me by saying that Mrs. Wallace was fey. I have puzzled for years as to that word. The *Oxford Dictionary* is useless and seems certainly wrong. But the Irish in me tells me that it has to do with unseen, psychic influence; when beings see "through a glass darkly," getting a glimpse why Catherine of Siena was silent. "For I perceive," she said, "that nothing happens without mystery." Orcadians remain proud of their Viking ancestry. In 1974 I noticed in the Kirkwall weekly, *The Orcadian*, a minute of the County Council dealing with a request for a contribution to a Gaelic school or course; the minute read, "Gaelic is irrelevant to Orkney therefore a contribution would be inappropriate." Dr. Wallace had his share of this fey quality, but there was also Scots philosphy with ethical norms, balanced, humane, and eclectic and slightly sceptical optimism. How shall I describe it? Perhaps by recalling forgotten books in my youth by Hugh Miller, born in Cromarty, not too far away from the Orkneys, stonemason, geologist, self-educated, whose *The Old Red Sandstone* and *My Schools and Schoolmasters* were part of Robert Wallace's mental furniture acquired very early in life.

Hugh Miller was a Christian who sought to establish six geological eras as the days of creation of Genesis. Dr. Wallace specialized in the physical chemistry of rock magmas petrology, crystallography, and, like his distinguished colleague at the University of Manitoba, Professor A.R.R. Buller, he spent some years in pre-1914 German universities, then in scientific achievement the highest in the world. He would have found it uncongenial to attempt to make geological concepts and cosmic patterns coincide with

exegetical analysis of allegedly verbally inspired scripture, doing violence thus to science on the one hand and on the other to the beautiful poetry and meaningful myth of Holy Writ. But it is important to grasp that he remained throughout his whole life a practising Christian. I suspect Henry Drummond's *Natural Law and the Spiritual World* (1883), arguing the compatibility of the theory of evolution and of revealed religion and available in Dr. Wallace's youth, must have seemed facile to him and the sentimental approach too tinged with Moody and Sankey evangelism. His Christian ideology was more like that of Sir Arthur J. Thomson, Regius Professor of Natural History at the University of Aberdeen, 1899-1930. In short, he was an instructed Christian, and in all personal matters his ethical purpose was as rock-like as the granite of his native land. No wonder he suited Queen's in Kingston.

In 1940, at a conference of Deputy Ministers in Education and the Canadian Legion Educational Services at Queen's, the Vice-Principal, Dr. McNeil, in welcoming us wittily pointed out the seniority in age of Queen's over the University of Toronto. In my reply I told him there was a rumour that a Toronto professor had slandered Queen's by describing its stone architecture as "Early Penitentiary." The principal and vice-chancellor of Queen's for fifteen years was this Orcadian with the flaxen-tinged tousled hair, the crinkly good-humour lines around the eyes that never glittered with anger or greed or ambition. His Nordic appearance matched not only the building but the Scots tradition of his predecessors, from Grant to Hamilton Fyfe. The student paper once headed an article, "Presents Santa Forgot," and comically listed a brush and comb for Dr. Wallace. He never bothered much about clothes either. Dr. W.J. Black, my chief at the C.N.R., once told me that the governors of McGill University hesitated to appoint Dr. Wallace principal because of his Western and easy-going appearance. I rejoice a little that they got instead Dr. Arthur Morgan (1933-7), a determined and sometimes abrasive administrator, but the briskest and fastest in the business. He gave me most effective letters of introduction to the educational leaders in Great Britain in 1946, reaching me at the hotel with startling efficiency. He did not suffer fools gladly, and those of us in adult education — Ned Corbett, Dunlop of Toronto, Wilfrid Bovey, and I were never sure how he classified us. Soon the governors of McGill felt the teeth of the harrow, but Queen's had got Dr. Wallace firmly so they settled for an American millionaire, Laurie W. Douglas (1938-9). In 1939, they appointed Dr. Cyril James as Principal, and he became a member of our Canadian Government Rehabilitation Committee's subcommittee on the resumption of interrupted education.

The contrast between the two principals fascinated me. Dr. James was

always well-tailored, well-brushed, and talked in well-structured paragraphs using his impeccable Latin, the "k" for "c" and the "w" pronunciation of "via media," and an impressive economist's vocabulary, while Dr. Wallace would ponder, ask questions, and speak without notes, concealing very effectively his encyclopaedic knowledge of Canada and its people. Lieutenant-Colonel E. McKay, M.C., took over from me the secretaryship of the Reconstruction Committee to enable me to concentrate on Veterans' Rehabilitation. I introduced him to Dr. Wallace, who immediately opened the conversation about his and his wife's years at Queen's. One day in a taxi, going over to see the head of Central Mortgage and Housing about student residences, he said to me that the man who could help us most was a young lawyer who knew me favourably and that I had known his father. I couldn't recall him but sure enough he was a young Mr. Gold, whose father I had known in Saskatchewan. This uncanny knowledge of people and their relations was supplemented by a progressive view of social and political affairs. In the fifties, he wrote asking me to send some information on our Community Progress Competitions to the former warden of All Souls, Oxford, W.G.S. Adams, then living at Buncrana, County Donegal. I had been a guest of All Souls in 1940 and didn't know of his interest. My letter to the famous Bill Adams brought me a warm invitation to visit him on a peninsula that I had known in my youth. Of course, I now recall that Dr. Wallace knew all the "Round Table" group and was a close student of international affairs.

In the thirties he and Dr. Murray frequently used my office in Room 100, Union Station, Winnipeg, as it was convenient to travel from Edmonton and Saskatoon on the C.N.R. line. I sometimes seized an occasion to have them to my home, where we might meet Dr. and Mrs. J.E. Lehmann, Professor and Mrs. Delury, and members of the Institute of International Affairs. He was greatly liked by Farmer-Progressive party members and understood their movement. When William Aberhart came to power in Alberta, he expressed confidence to me that the new Social Credit government would support education. I was sceptical but he was right. During his eight years in Alberta and fifteen years at Queen's, he made great contributions to learning, so well known that I need not comment here, except to note that in both universities he established schools of nursing and in both he supported extension work — in Alberta being the founder, with Donald Cameron, of the Banff School of Fine Arts and at Queen's a Department of Fine Arts. He kept up an amazing extracurricular activity; his support of an organization was always eagerly sought after. As the president of the Royal Society and the recipient of fifteen honorary degrees, the C.M.G., and the respected Fellow of many learned societies, he became the dean and

spokesman of Canadian universities. In my case, I saw much of him in the C.N.R. Community Progress Competitions as chairman of judges in Alberta, in the Association of Canadian Clubs when president of the Winnipeg Canadian Club, the Banff Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, conferences of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, meetings of the Queen's alumni, and in Ottawa on committees on rehabilitation and reconstruction. From 1951 until his death, I served on his advisory editorial committee of the *Encyclopedia Americana*.

During World War II, we were fortunate in having that incomparable Queen's team, Dr. W.C. Clark and Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, at the controls in finance in the East Block, Ottawa, and I must record that every measure our committee on rehabilitation of veterans proposed was welcomed by these remarkable public servants. Most of the regulations and legislation had given me anxious hours, and in 1945 there came the expected crisis of crowded universities. I agreed to return to Ottawa from Patricia Bay, B.C., as chairman of a University Requirements Committee to which were appointed, as members, representatives nominated by the Canadian Conference of Universities and the French-Canadian universities, a Treasury Board representative, and the financial controller of the D.V.A. I was fortunate in that Dr. Wallace was chosen to speak for the Canadian universities. I had the benefit of his cool head, wise counsel, and humorous outlook. He always wore equanimity like a garment, although the loss of his son must have been a secret sorrow for years. He was not an easy-going type of man with whom one could take liberties. He knew his place, accepted naturally the deference and respect always shown him, but was equally insistent in maintaining the dignity of others. I knew I was obliged to visit as many universities as possible and already had done so before in 1941 to explain the coming program, but I assumed and hoped that I would escape a visit to Queen's. He sensed my reluctance, owing mainly to my wish to economize on time, but he insisted firmly that I must go to Queen's. So one Saturday, he met me at the Kingston railway junction and took me to a meeting of deans and officers of Queen's University.

Rather unexpectedly, Vice-Principal W.E. McNeil gave me a bleak appreciation of the overcrowding by veterans and pressed me very hard indeed for specific commitments on overhead expenses especially, with respect to renovations to surplus army huts. The somewhat ambiguous terms of the order-in-council appointing me had proved useful in covering the hiatus between the Defence Department's declaration as surplus of millions of dollars worth of huts and equipment and acceptance for disposal by the War Assets Corporation by loan for temporary use to universities; I did not want to push my luck too far. Obviously our committee could not

become involved in approving specific administrative costs. Our task was by every means to encourage universities to full-time operation, to review the whole Canadian picture, and after study recommend a ceiling grant to cover overhead expenses with appropriate accounting procedures acceptable to the treasury and to the Minister. In glancing over the plans submitted by Dr. McNeil, my pencil moved over a gross misspelling made by his competent and practical superintendent. As Dr. Wallace and I scrutinized the sketches, his eyes twinkled, for we both knew what a perfectionist in English the Vice-Principal was, and with what an eagle eye and unsparing rebuke any such mistake by a student would have been detected and corrected. Tea broke the tension, followed by endorsation of my stand, some kind words about my sponsorship of this part of veterans' rehabilitation, and Dr. Wallace's firm indication of his entire confidence and thanks for my visit, when I was so heavily loaded with work. We drove to the railway station in gay, good humour and thus he saw to it that the dignity of others was maintained. But he also made sure tactfully that responsibility to carry out one's duties was clearly defined and accepted.

This is a good time for me to record that much of my arts degree work at Queen's was done as an extramural student, as were my post-graduate courses under Dr. W.A. Mackintosh. I was fortunate in my year in Kingston in 1919-20, as I had much personal help and coaching from professors W.G.C. Clark, O.D. Skelton, and J.L. Morrison, being a visitor in their homes. I am aware at times of some degree of contempt by regular graduates of degrees won by extramural studies, of which there is an example in Professor Lower's memoirs, Premier Aberhart being our most notorious extramural graduate. At alumni gatherings in Winnipeg attended by Bob Guy, C.E. Joslyn, the Reverend P.T. Polkey and other friends, I had no memories of rugby or freshman antics. I knew C.E.F. songs, but not those of "the old Ontario strand." I was more familiar with the bawdy words of the tune of the R.C.R. regimental march:

O, the R.C.R. they marched away
And left all the girls in the family way,
The good old R.C.R.

than Queen's Gaelic yell. Nevertheless, I was included in the clan and no one today can understand how much this meant in the twenties, thirties, and forties. Queen's men then were very influential in the field of education in particular.

"Under the Georges," a McGill man complained, "Canada was not ruled by a King but by Queen's." I was highly amused in the thirties when I was seized upon by Queen's alumni and they endeavoured to point my nose toward a post for which I was highly unsuitable. In Winnipeg, Mr. David

Laird, a serious-minded trustee of Queen's, visited me regularly in Room 100, Union Station, Winnipeg, to tell me of the latest news. One day he solemnly announced that he wished to propose my name for the principalship of a distinguished public school in Ontario; I had the utmost difficulty in convincing him that temperament, educational philosophy, scholarship, weak classical training, social sympathies, and above all my wife's undoubted opposition disqualified me in the most definite fashion. When I accepted an appointment to the staff of the University of British Columbia, I had a long wire from James Richardson, Chancellor of Queen's, congratulating me as a Queen's man. This was followed by his calling on me at Union Station. I walked with him to his office and he walked back with me to mine. Finally, I walked back with him to his office. I mentioned that I had heard McGill was once again feeling that it should have Principal Wallace, but the Chancellor felt very confident that Queen's would hold Dr. Wallace. He took some pride in the fact that the principalship of Queen's was in point of salary preferable to that of McGill. Oddly enough, I once sensed in a remark of Principal Hamilton Fyfe a little unhappiness at the differential between his emolument and that of the junior academic staff. James Richardson always took a generous view of salaries at Queen's. When I had the former Principal, Dr. Bruce Taylor, as a neighbour at Patricia Bay, Vancouver Island, he related to me how Charlotte Whitton's query as to his proposed retirement allowance suggested by James Richardson resulted in a serious cut in the amount, but even this amount is said to have visibly increased the pallor of Vice-Principal W.E. McNeil, in charge of finance, when he was greeted by a sunburned septuagenerian French Riviera resident who seemed destined to draw the allowance granted for decades to come. Vice-Principal McNeil spent a lifetime at Queen's and left $152,000 to his university.

In 1945, once again a Queen's man, Dr. W.G. Clark, then Deputy Minister of Finance, endeavoured to interest me in a post related to rural housing and had I had better qualifications I might have acceded and probably made a contribution, but I thought then that the Veterans' Land Act would be a pilot scheme for a general attack on the problem. These instances indicate that Queen's had a special place in those days. The spirit of its alumni was somewhat like a freemasonry; the prestige of its principal and the fraternal association of the alumni were unique. A British professor had remarked that Queen's was old enough to have traditions, young enough to have standards, and small enough to have character. President Wallace brought to Queen's not only his remarkable knowledge of the Canadian north, gained partly when he was commissioner of northern Manitoba, but felicitous and informed speech as to art, music, literature,

and science. Always he was a Western Canadian, and it is not surprising to find in his principalship that the Honourable Charles Dunning of Saskatchewan became Chancellor and Leonard W. Brockington of Calgary and Winnipeg, Rector.

In retirement, it was to the Arctic Institute and adult education activities that he continued to give leadership and counsel. There is a line in one of his published addresses that sums up his career. "There is no way to knowledge and ultimate wisdom but by hard work and pleasure in doing it." It is said that when as a young man a pretty pupil whispered in his mathematics class, she was sternly reminded that in her last test she had only made twenty-nine per cent. Thus even the future Mrs. Wallace could not escape his dedication to learning. As far as I know, he never had a faculty or student revolt, yet I recall that on several occasions he appointed staff whose record of peevish or prima donna temperaments had deterred other university presidents in offering posts. I remember the wife of a well-qualified appointee who had given cause for concern by unwise gossip, to which she seemed addicted. Dr. Wallace ignored everything but the scholarly qualifications of possible appointees, and the high standards of Alberta and Queen's universities at the end of his tenure of office in each university reflected his superb administrative gifts.

Great university teachers are specialists devoted fanatically to their chosen subjects and each is of opinion that without his or her particular discipline, the student is illiterate. Unanimity is improbable, and "even the difference of a taste in jokes is a great strain on the affections." It is rare for the university to escape conflict between the administration and the faculty. Now student activism is added to further muddy the pool. "It is not fair," said a trustee of Queen's, "to ask the principal to make the decisions involved in this policy. He may find it embarrassing to discriminate between the individuals concerned." Principal Wallace added quietly, "I am willing to take the responsibility." He kept his troubles and triumphs to himself and it is said he didn't even tell his wife when he left for the office at half past eight in the morning, whether he would be back for lunch or dinner, unless she were involved in the invitation, except on Sunday at Queen's, when before church he visited students and staff who were patients in hospital. Thus compassion complemented courage, character illuminated intelligence, and from the homes, rocky coasts, and gleaming northern lights of Orkney were brought to us in Canada a wholesome way of life, the path of the just, which "as a shining light" made this man a beacon.

THE RIGHT REVEREND SEVERIN JAMES GERTKIN, O.S.B.

In the ecumenical atmosphere of today, it is difficult to understand the gap

that existed between Catholics and Protestants during my youth in Ulster and my working life in Canada. Some measure of understanding developed while those of my generation served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France and Flanders in World War I. The Roman Catholic chaplains set a high standard of camaraderie and courage and somehow elicited more sympathy from us than the Protestant padres. In the Third London General I had, through an Irish friend, Miss Ethel Enright (Sister Ethel Enright, R.R.C.), came to know well the able Father Boyle of the Redemptorist Order of Liverpool. In the twenties I became a friend of Bishop Prud'homme of St. Boniface and Prince Albert and Archbishop Sinnott of Winnipeg. In 1930, I met Abbot Severin of Muenster, Saskatchewan, and until he died on March 10, 1960, he was a dear and beloved friend who never failed to write me whether he was in Jerusalem or Rome or Germany and each day to remember my wife and me in his prayers.

Father Abbot Severin was born at Richmond, Minnesota, July 26, 1881 and christened James. He received his early education under his father Lupus Gertkin, who taught in Stearns County, Minnesota, for half a century. Eventually, four sons and seven daughters of the family of twelve became Benedictines. James attended St. John's High School and University at Collegeville, graduating in 1904. In 1901, he entered the novitiate of St. John's Abbey and made his profession as a Benedictine monk, July 11, 1902. He was ordained priest on June 7, 1907. From 1903 until he became Abbot Ordinary, Father Severin, as he was now known, was head of the Department of Chemistry at St. John's. He completed his M.Sc. post-graduate studies at the University of Chicago in 1924. For ten years he was Dean of St. John's Seminary and for a time was Dean of the College. In 1926, Father Severin was elected Abbot Ordinary of the Abbey Nullius of St. Peter, succeeding Abbot Michael Ott.

St. Peter's colony, about forty miles southeast of Rosthern, near Humboldt, had been established in 1902 by German Catholics from the Middle Western states, particularly Stearns County, Minnesota, under the guidance of Father Bruno Doerfler, O.S.B., at that time Rector of St. John's. In October 1902, twenty-six men in company with Father Bruno chose homesteads. A few months later about one thousand people had selected homesteads. In January 1903, the pastoral charge was given to Prior Alfred and Father Bruno and on May 14, 1903, the first contingent of Benedictine monks arrived. A church, school, and parish house were erected at Muenster and elevated to the dignity of an abbey in 1911, while the Elizabethan Sisters established a hospital and convent at Humboldt and the Ursuline Sisters a convent at Bruno in 1913. Thus in one lifetime, from a log cabin in 1903, there developed a remarkable community with hospitals,

churches, schools, and parish halls.

The third abbot and second abbot ordinary known as Father Abbot Severin was the beloved leader from 1926 until his death in 1960. His health was never robust, but he maintained to the end a high standard of participation in the life of the community. He gave his support to our Community Progress Competitions, fostered by the Canadian National Railways' Department of Colonization and Agriculture and welcomed the judges as old friends to Muenster — President Walter Murray, Mrs. Violet McNaughton, and Dr. W.J. Rose. He took a deep interest in agricultural and extension activities and maintained close working links with the provincial Department of Agriculture and the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. Our conversations through the years ranged over a wide field: the celibacy of clergy and its psychological strain; political and economic theory; the practical needs of community and agricultural development; rural schools; secondary and post-secondary education. Over thirty years before the ecumenical movement made its impact, Father Abbot Severin was applying to non-Catholics a tolerance and benevolence rooted in his saintly character. I had begun then to dip into the writings of Jacques Maritain and Catholic writers and the significance and symbolism of the mass, the continuity of tradition, the importance of contemplation, the merits of religious communities, and the universality and catholic aspect of this ancient church emerged in my thinking as a way of life which could still produce saintly devotion, self-sacrifice, and Christian character such as I had not seen since I was a boy, when I knew something of what Methodist piety could accomplish in the development of dedicated lives. I was fascinated to see the affection with which the people of the St. Peter's community greeted their abbot, especially the pleasure of the children in his presence. The authority of the bishop seemed to disappear in the joy that surrounded him wherever he went. His letters to me carried always an account of his travels, news about St. Peter's, and a message of hope and encouragement in our work. He lies today in the little tree-shaded cemetery in which brothers of the abbey are buried. Alongside are the graves of brethren born as far apart as Mexico and Ireland, laid to rest in the shadow of the abbey. The loved spiritual leaders of the community sleep while future generations revere and treasure their memory. Here remains in Saskatchewan some of the heritage of a continuing and ancient faith that recognized neither racial nor artificial lines and ever sought to root itself in the soil to keep the rule of St. Benedict.

WILLIAM JOHN ROSE

When I accepted the post of Continental Superintendent of the new Depart-

ment of Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National Railways, in London, England, under W.J. Black in 1924, I set out at once to meet those Canadians on the continent who had some knowledge of Europe. In Geneva, I met Dr. Walter A. Riddell, the Canadian representative to the League of Nations, Mr. Douglas Stevenson in the International Labour Office, the officers of the federal Department of Immigration in Paris, Antwerp, Hamburg, and Dantzig, and the Canadian Trade Commissioners in Europe. I made a special effort to reach Dr. William John Rose, whose story and whose work was known to me partly through friends (his brother, Arthur, was married to a sister of Mr. J.S. Woodsworth) and partly through press and magazine articles that had appeared about him. I knew that he had been encouraged by Dr. John R. Mott of the Y.M.C.A. to work in the Student Christian Movement in Poland. I found Bill Rose in the ancient city of Cracow in Poland. He was carrying a heavy load of Y.M.C.A. work there and preparing his thesis for a doctorate in the Jagellonian University, as by this time he was proficient in Polish. His classical training in Latin gave him a necessary and sympathetic grasp of the mediaeval scholasticism that underpinned the history of Catholic Poland, nurtured in the tradition and the culture of the West despite the Slavic heritage, the Renaissance stopping-short on the borders of Russia. His bronzed, firm-jawed scholar's face, enthusiasm, industry, curiosity, and Christian faith were matched by the loyalty and devotion of his wife, who had shared his trials, co-operated with his heavy program of work and study, while herself making good use of the European opportunities to pursue her musical education.

Bill Rose was born on August 7, 1885, on a farm near Minnedosa in Manitoba. His parents were Methodists. Early in life, he adopted their devout Christian faith and even in the rural school showed a love of learning which never left him. It was not easy at the turn of the century for a farm boy to get through high school and then partially to maintain himself at college, but he was fortunate that Wesley College in Winnipeg had been granted a provincial charter in 1886. Its academic standards had improved and the new Wesley College building on Partage Avenue was occupied in 1896. He was able to secure a sound training in the classics and began his deep interest in the political, philosophical, and sociological aspect of things which marked his later scholarly career. He took part in the effort of the churches to teach the European immigrants in North Winnipeg. The Reverend J.S. Woodsworth, a Methodist minister since 1896 and Associate Minister of Grace Church in Winnipeg from 1902 to 1906, began All People's Mission in North Winnipeg in 1907 and endeavoured to develop it into an institutional church to reach by all sorts of means the men and

women and young people who came mainly from central Europe.

The Reverend Dr. J.W. Sparling was principal of Wesley College from 1888 until his death in 1912, and a firm supporter of the approach made by J.S. Woodsworth to the assimilation problem, as indicated in his introduction to Woodsworth's *Strangers within Our Gates* written by about 1907 and published in 1908. The Mayor of Winnipeg at that time was Mr. J.H. Ashdown, who according to Dr. Sparling gave more time, attention, and money to working out a solution on this question than any other layman in the West and regarded the problem as vital and fundamental. It is interesting to note this awareness of the social problems arising from immigration on the part of a millionaire merchant seventy years ago. Undoubtedly, Wesley College students and teachers had been influenced by such books as Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), whose objective was to influence the social application of Christianity — a ferment which gradually permeated the atmosphere and teaching of Wesley College for a generation.

Bill Rose graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1905 and proceeded to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. He returned to Wesley College in 1908 and was a lecturer in classics at the University of Manitoba. In 1912, he studied in Leipzig and Berlin and married Emily Mary Cuthbert. In these years he developed a deep interest in the Student Christian Movement and in the social work being attempted in North Winnipeg. In 1914 he was in Prague attending a conference of the Student Christian Federation. In the same year he and his wife were made prisoners of war in Austrian hands near Teschen. Inadequate food and hardship during internment undoubtedly left their mark on them both. Nevertheless, Bill made good use of his time, and at the end of World War I the Foreign Office managed to get him out of Teschen in time to take a hand with Arnold Toynbee, Lewis Namier, and Isaiah Bowman in preparing for and advising the Peace Conference, particularly in the matter of the Silesian dispute. In 300 published articles and books over a lifetime, I always think that his book *The Drama of Upper Silesia* reveals the stature to which this Manitoba Methodist farm boy of Ontario antecedents had risen in his forties, a classical scholar proficient in Polish, German, and French, deeply versed in European history and literature, alert to contemporary political pressures, still a devout Christian but with a modern theology, friend of Dr. Schweitzer and Catholic philosophers. Sometimes in this book there is a glimpse of the sociologist pursuing his objective task with assiduity. From "weeks of personal visiting during which he sat for hours on end in every kind of class, both Polish and German from the tiniest beginners to those getting ready for the university," the writer could testify as to the "standard of work done, again

by both Polish and German teachers, being of a level that no nation need despise." The magisterial sagacity and statesman-like approach, combined with the vivid, idiomatic mastery of language makes this particular book one to be studied by Canadians as a rare instance of parochial upbringing giving way to whole-hearted immersion in centuries of old European cultures without the surrender of the Christian faith of his youth.

In almost every chapter, there are apophthegms and aphorisms that light the narrative. For example, "All life is nurtured at first in secret in places hidden from the sight of men. Origins remain a mystery in cultural as in physical spheres." Then he dives right into the story of the self-made writer of Silesia, Lompa, listening as a boy to his mother's tales that went back to the Seven Years' War (p. 67). "Anyone," Bill Rose writes, "who is strong enough, can subdue a nation but only those called of destiny and created for the task can woo and possess it. Frederick of Prussia was too wise a man not to know this" (p. 46). "There will always be a controversy as to which is the worse, a good system with bad people to work it, or a bad system with better folk in charge. In general one may assume that when a regime is bad, things are at least alleviated if people have a conscience, but the average is likely to be lower if only because of the frailty of men. This was the case on the land in Upper Silesia and the abuses multiplied until the cup of misery was full" (p. 83). Then the sure historian's visualization of the past. "Polish Silesia presented in the eighteenth century a typical picture of mediaeval, agrarian conditions. Only it had a barren soil. It contrasted with Lower Silesia in having an unfruitful earth, here sand there clay — not to mention a raw climate. Add to this insufficient drainage owing to the slight fall of the Oder and the result was swamplands, forest belts and few larger communities" (p. 76). Chapter 9 begins: "Despotisms must be thoroughly beaten before they can learn to respect the rights of others" (p. 88). Chapter 13 deals sympathetically with the Church as shepherd and the quotation from St. Simon as chapter heading might well have been the model of his Wesley College teachers and colleagues three decades earlier. "True Christianity can make men happy, not only in heaven but also on earth."

Bill Rose lived in Poland for nine years. In December 1925 he presented his thesis to the Department of History of the Jagellonian University in Cracow, "Stanislas Konarski, Reformer of Education in Eighteenth-Century Poland." This was accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Cracow and he was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Not for four hundred years had the university thus honoured an Anglo-Saxon. His predecessor was a monk who wandered across Europe in the sixteenth century and lectured at Cracow from December 1518 for seven years, probably having been given the master's degree. This early

student and teacher, Leonard Coxe, a noted humanist, seems to have been a poet of parts. He got into trouble towards the end of his stay in Cracow because of some nasty verses written about a colleague, which like Luther he nailed to the door of the lecture hall. He was brought to justice and next was found in Paris as tutor of a young nobleman who later became a famous bishop. In 1549, twenty years later, he died in his bed in his English homeland, more fortunate than most wandering scholars of his time. The study *Stanislas Konarski* was published in English in 1929 and Toronto *Saturday Night* gave me a whole page with a picture of Bill in his doctor's robes and cap for the review I wrote.

From 1927 to 1935 he was Professor of Sociology at Dartmouth, Hanover, New Hampshire. In the early thirties Bill spent a month or two with me each summer as one of the judges of the Canadian National Railways Community Progress Competitions (mainly in Saskatchewan communities of central European origin) with President Murray and Mrs. Violet McNaughton. Here his unrivalled knowledge of the European homelands of settlers, his ecumenical Christianity, his Manitoba farm background, his extraordinarily vivid and wholesome personality, his linguistic gifts, and his love for Western Canada and its pioneers made him a happy guest in homes, schools, and at community gatherings, and an exciting platform speaker. He also spent some time in Manitoba districts in the Mennonite and Ukrainian communities and was honoured by the Polish groups in Winnipeg. In 1935, he became Reader and then Professor of Polish Language and Literature at the University of London, and in 1939, he succeeded Sir Bernard Pares as Director of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London. In 1936, my wife and I were again in London and once again we met Bill and his wife and enjoyed an evening of music with them. She loved her cello and Chopin and it was good to listen quietly and forget for a moment the fears we all had of the coming European war.

I accompanied Bill to the Royal Institute of International Affairs and heard Paul Réynaud, later Premier of France in 1940, warn us that the Hitler regime meant war. In 1939, a Penguin special entitled *Poland* by W.J. Rose gave the British public a picture of the country, the invasion of which by Germany brought about the entry of Great Britain and the nations of the Commonwealth into World War II against Hitler. In 1940, while in London as the first director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services, I paid a visit to Oxford and found Bill and his wife busy in very restricted quarters gleaning for the Foreign Office from Polish newspapers and publications the necessary intelligence coming out from the Nazi-occupied territory. In 1948, after a visit to liberated Poland, he published his authori-

tative work, *Poland Old and New*. In 1950, on retirement from the directorship of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at London University, he returned to Canada and for six years was Professor of Polish at the University of British Columbia. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1953. During this period, he was much in demand as an extension lecturer and speaker at Canadian clubs and he and his wife paid us a happy visit in Comox. He spent much time at United College, Winnipeg, and was a recipient of honorary degrees from several universities. Soon he was to lose his faithful and devoted partner, but he carried on with notable courage and we saw him from time to time in Victoria.

In 1956, at the age of seventy, there came eleven years of the most fruitful and unique service. He made his home on the grounds of the Christian Leadership Training School at Naramata in the Okanagan and was available for seminars, lectures, and fellowship in a centre for laymen and women, pioneering many projects in the methodology of Christian teaching, developing awareness of contemporary problems, exploring solutions based on an ethical approach and personal involvement in the family, the community, and the church in national and international life. This centre was developed by the United Church of Canada and acquired its ecumenical tone early. It must be conceded that "Uncle" Bill's energy, intellectual and moral force, deep empathy with young people, wise counsel, and participation in the social life and spiritual exercises made the school a significant and notable institution. Every institution is but the length and shadow of a man and in this case, this school was the length and shadow of "Uncle" Bill. In 1967, my niece and her husband, Fred Jeffrey, Vice-Principal of the Methodist College in Belfast, joined me for a few days as Bill's guests and his brother, Dr. Arthur, and Mrs. Rose made a happy visit full of comradeship and instructed conversation. I had Bill tell me of the peace conference, with memories of Toynbee and Namier. We recalled Poland, London, Oxford, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Comox, and the hundred rural communities in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

He died on March 10, 1968. He was a rare phenomenon, a Methodist Manitoba farm boy of Ontario ancestry and with the limitations that that involved. He won international repute as a European scholar, an authority on Polish language and literature and the history of central Europe, a distinguished Professor Emeritus of the universities of London and British Columbia, the honoured product of such ancient universities as Oxford and Cracow. Yet throughout this European life as a man of letters and a respected adviser in international affairs, he remained a devoted Christian. He was no expatriate. He never lost his links with Western Canada and its peoples and with United College in Winnipeg, the United Church of

Canada, the Student Christian Movement, and finally with Christian leadership at Naramata. He loved his native land and remembered with affection the pioneering of his parents in Manitoba and always in his deportment and carriage there remained something of the wholesome, frank, enthusiastic, prairie farm environment of the last decade of the nineties on the lines of his face and in his bodily vigour. For example, he never shirked household chores. He remained alert to human needs and exigencies. In his kitchen, at his table, at prayers, in seminars, in conversation, in addresses, in classrooms, at his desk, in his writing, his speech, there was a command of several languages to communicate, but even more there was the power of a unique, instructed, dedicated personality.

WALTER CHARLES MURRAY

Perhaps one day we shall come to regard it as an astonishing thing that the secular universities of Alberta and Saskatchewan, chartered and controlled by their respective provincial governments, had as their first presidents men who were such devout Christians and devoted members of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches and later the United Church. In Manitoba, we are familiar with the way in which the University of Manitoba grew out of the religious colleges — St. John's (Anglican), Manitoba (Presbyterian), Wesley (Methodist), and St. Boniface (Catholic) — with clergymen as heads of these colleges and as teachers on staff. The first President of Alberta, Dr. H.M. Tory, had been ordained a minister of the Methodist Church and became a faithful member of the United Church after the union of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in 1925; he was succeeded by Dr. R.C. Wallace, who as a Presbyterian became a member of the United Church, and as Principal of Queen's later was known for his firm support of his church and his equally firm Christian faith. In the University of Saskatchewan, President W.C. Murray, the first president, was noted for his leadership in his church, first the Presbyterian and then the United Church, and he was succeeded in the presidency by a United Church clergyman, Dr. J.S. Thomson, a Professor of Theology who was later moderator of the United Church of Canada. Presidents Tory and Murray came from the Maritimes, presidents Wallace and Thomson from Scotland and from Scottish universities. Thus for a quarter of a century, these new universities on the prairies were dominated by men of a maritime tradition and a Christian heritage and non-conformist church. The opening sentence in 1922 in an article in the *Dalhousie Review* on "College Union in the Maritime Provinces" by Dr. Murray was: "The people of the Maritime provinces have never been ardent unionists — political, ecclesiastical, educational and commercial."

The paradox in these provinces of particularism at home and concern for broad national unity suggests that the narrow circumference of these seaboard provinces and the links with Scots learning and tradition accustomed Maritimers and Scotsmen to exchange opinion and do business with men abroad thinking of men first, rather than of official title. We cannot understand any of these educators unless we grasp the fact of their long apprenticeship in a Scots environment before coming to Western Canada to their high offices. Dr. Murray was a Maritimer until at forty-three he became the first President of the University of Saskatchewan in 1908, and in the same year, Dr. Tory, a Maritimer, became the first president of the University of Alberta at the age of forty-four. Each was succeeded by a Scotsman educated in Scottish universities, emigrating to Canada in the thirties and holding academic posts in the Maritimes and Manitoba. Dr. Wallace became President of the University of Alberta in 1928 at forty-seven years of age, Dr. J.S. Thomson of the University of Saskatchewan in 1937 at forty-five years of age, so that each of these presidents was in his forties when he took over the leadership of the university. All were members of the United Church and took part in its councils.

It was my good fortune to know all four men well, but Dr. Murray I knew best. This was owing to his chairmanship in Saskatchewan of the three judges of the Community Progress Competitions of the Canadian National Railways Department of Colonization and Agriculture. Dr. Murray always called in my office at Room 100, Union Station, when he had occasion to sit on commissions in Winnipeg. When he was a member of the Duff Commission on Railways and Transportation in 1931, I saw a great deal of him while he was carefully reading and studying the briefs presented to that body. He could quickly assimilate statistical data, understood balance sheets, and had an unerring eye for illogical or inaccurate statements, a superb grasp of Canadian history, and an unrivalled knowledge of Western agriculture and its peoples. Over and above all he knew men, and he was rarely wrong in his judgement. He was listened to with great respect, and his counsels were often sought by political leaders of all parties and the heads of the great businesses in Canada.

Born in 1866, after graduation from the University of New Brunswick (1886) and as holder of the Gilchrist Scholarship, he proceeded to Edinburgh University and in 1891 received his M.A. degree with first class honours in philosophy. This was followed by study in Berlin. He was professor of philosophy in the University of New Brunswick, 1891-2, in Dalhousie from 1892 to 1908. I recall Dr. Miller of the Department of Veterans' Affairs telling me of the way in which Dr. Murray had encouraged him and his fellow students to go to concerts and hear good music.

Throughout his life he was a keen patron of the arts and I can remember him buying pictures of Grandmaison and other artists at a time when his family budget must have felt the impact of such purchases severely. He often relaxed in our home, and my wife and I were always prepared to go out to the movies in Winnipeg with him, sometimes seeing two shows in one evening. On return from visits to Chicago, he would tell us of new plays, which we marked down for our next visit. Some of the selections were surprising — "Lysistrata" and "Three Men on a Horse." He was not robust in health; a skin condition was troublesome and compelled him to be very abstemious and careful in diet. His charm as a guest and a host, his keen enjoyment of good stories, his merry twinkle, and his enduring humanity and tolerance of opposition were always a joy to all who knew him. He had the most detailed knowledge of the trials and emergencies of hundreds of families and his pertinacity and tact in helping those in need were marvelous to see. He loved his fellow men and in return he reaped a rich harvest of affection. This was so, particularly in the non-Anglo-Saxon districts of Saskatchewan.

Recently, Dean Shaw reminded me when on a visit to Victoria of the day in which we had called on a Ukrainian family in northern Saskatchewan only to find that the men were out in the harvest fields and the woman of the family was going along to feed the pigs with two pails of swill. Dr. Murray went up to her to shake hands and she put down one pail and shook hands and he picked the pail up and off they went together to feed the pigs. No university president in Western Canada either before or since has ever spent so much time in the homes, community halls, and churches of the Ukrainian, German, Hungarian, and Doukhobor settlements in that province as did Dr. Murray and he did it at a time when this was unique and unusual. His mark was made upon the new universities of the West, as he served on the commissions investigating their problems in British Columbia in 1910, in Alberta in 1915, and in Manitoba in 1923 and again in 1932. He was chairman of the Commission on the Manitoba School System in 1923-4, a member of the Beatty Commission on the Dominion Civil Service, and a member and eventually Chairman of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1934. For many years, he was a member of the National Research Council, the National Film Board, and many councils of the United Church. His wife was a great support in all his undertakings and his three daughters followed their father into academic pursuits.

In his native New Brunswick, he knew graceful elms, buildings of old stone and old houses, and it is interesting to reflect how this background must have influenced the architecture and landscape of the grounds of not only the University of Saskatchewan, but the University of British

Columbia. His interest in music when in Halifax made him a ready sponsor and patron and he was the organizer of the musical festival in Saskatoon and of the Department of Music in the university. He never lost his keenness for curling. He saw early in his presidency that agriculture and its development in Saskatchewan was the primary need, and with remarkable foresight and unceasing awareness of changing techniques and of research in the field, he brought together under Dean Rutherford and Dean Shaw a remarkable Faculty of Agriculture. The animals, machinery, barns and experimental plots of the University Farm were as familiar to him as his own office or home and he took a personal interest in the homemakers' clubs and extension activities. He was a great listener to agronomists, animal-husbandry specialists, veterinarians, botanists, plant pathologists, and agricultural economists. None had any difficulty in communicating with him. He always amazed me by his contacts and he must have written thousands of letters by hand of encouragement, criticism, appreciation. I was the fortunate recipient of many such letters which helped me in many emergencies. There came illness when he was cared for by a loving family and at last on March 24, 1945 the end came, two months after the death of Professor Arthur S. Morton, his friend of the Maritimes who was a historian of the University of Saskatchewan and also a pioneer in the historiography of Western Canada. Saskatchewan had in his day a thin grey line of pioneers, men and women who wended their way from sowing to reaping, who sought the wide horizons and tried to make their dreams come true. He was one of them. With their aid he helped build on the banks of the Saskatchewan River a great institution of learning that in this time of turbulence and haunting uncertainty and tremulous fear remains the home of the questing spirit and the beacon of hope that we can still win a better world than we now know.

FRANK HOFFMAN

Thinking over the extraordinary men I have known, I must place at the top of the list Frank Hoffman, Hungarian-born, brave, erudite, with an amazingly powerful physical physique, a practical agriculturalist and horticulturalist without peer, and as a United Church missionary in northern Saskatchewan surely one of the most effective of its ministers. His adventurous career reads like fiction.

At first glance one saw the Magyar features, dark eyes, squarish head, strong chin, not tall, but with the shoulders and arms of a boxer. He could life enormous weights; in his youth he had been a devotee of physical training. I have never known a man so adaptable to any emergency he might meet in pioneer territory, in camp, in the bush, on a farm. He traveled

hundreds of miles among new settlers in northern Saskatchewan on horseback, could build a sod house, butcher a hog, hunt, fish, and live off the land — carpenter, handyman, cook — and knew enough about physiology and anatomy to be useful if no medical or nursing care were available. He was born in the village of Kunmadaras, Hungary, the son of a Calvinist minister of small means. Brought up on a farm, he took a degree in agriculture and eventually received his doctorate in law. He was appointed to the chair of economics and statistics at Kass Agricultural College. In 1906, he was secretary of the royal commission sent from Hungary to report upon the agricultural prospects for Hungarian settlers in Canada, and in this way came to the attention of Dr. T.A. Patrick, a pioneer doctor and agriculturalist in Yorkton who had sat in legislatures of the Northwest Territories and Saskatchewan, and the Honourable W.R. Motherwell, the first Minister of Agriculture in Saskatchewan, later Dominion Minister of Agriculture.

In the summer of 1914, Hoffman was associated with a similar commission of enquiry in Russia as guest of the Imperial Russian government. On the outbreak of World War I he was called up and was commissioned as a hussar officer in the Hungarian forces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Early in the war, when engaged on a cavalry charge he was a casualty, taken prisoner by the Russians, and sent to Siberia. Here he remained until 1917, learning to speak Russian and fortifying his knowledge of Turkish. After the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks endeavoured to get war prisoners to serve in the Red Army. The Hungarian officers objected, and Hoffman with his legal knowledge, and his newly won knowledge of Russian was designated spokesman. Those who knew him could visualize that he spared no pains to point out in the fullest detail to the Bolsheviks the provisions of the Geneva Convention with respect to war prisoners and also no doubt to tell them about the error of their ways, with the inevitable result that he was marked down for execution by hanging and incarcerated in a hut. With the help of his fellow prisoners and considerable ingenuity, he built a tunnel under his hut and escaped. After many adventures he finally linked up with a band of Khirgiz, a primitive nomadic tribe in Asia which lived on goats' milk. Garbed in goats' skins, he remained with the Khirgiz for six months and at one time was a camel driver in a Tartar caravan traveling across Siberia. He moved with tribes of Khirgiz from pasture to pasture, a feat accomplished by few Europeans. He had a good grasp of the Moslem faith and practice, but remained secretly committed to his Christian faith. Joining the Khirgiz, he worshipped at sunrise, by praying to his own Supreme Being while sharing their ceremony.

Aided by an American clergyman in the eastern section of Siberia

working with the Y.M.C.A., he eventually reached Vladivostock in a Chinese Army uniform, became a batman to British soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force, and eventually an interpreter in the uniform of a British tommy. The British troops returning from Vladivostock across the Pacific smuggled him aboard a troopship, shared their rations and comforts with him and then smuggled him into Vancouver from the *S.S. Monteagle,* where he had been of some help to Captain Rothfield. During inspections on board the soldiers used to stow him away in a rolled-up hammock. Before smuggling him into Canada, they had taken up a collection and given him money to help him out. Landed in Vancouver without any friends and completely on his own, he worked at odd jobs, became a cook in a lumber camp, and when he had enough money he applied for permission to return to Hungary. Of course he was informed that he was guilty of illegal entry into Canada and placed in gaol with some hardened criminals who tried to explain to him the various dodges they knew to circumvent the guards.

Fortunately his plight was called to the attention of the Honourable W.R. Motherwell, now in Ottawa, and to Dr. Patrick and Principal Oliver of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, who knew of his staunch Calvinist upbringing and his lifelong devotion to the Christian faith. Dr. Oliver persuaded him to remain in Canada and undertake the work of a Presbyterian missionary in the summer and to complete his theological studies for ordination as a Presbyterian minister. This was around 1920, when he was about forty-three years of age, having lost his wife in Hungary by death and his son having escaped from Hungary, becoming a resident in the United States. At this very mature age, he became a theological student.

In the course of his missionary work in Saskatchewan, he often used to visit the Women's Missionary Society Hospital in Wakaw, Saskatchewan, the matron of which, Jean Innes Clyde, a Scotswoman, had been a trained nursing sister in the British Army abroad in World War I, the victim on board a hospital ship of a torpedoing of the vessel in 1916 by Admiral Horthy, later Regent of Hungary. Jean Clyde had a grievance against Hungary, after being dumped into a lifeboard and hit accidentally on the shoulders by an oar, which had given her a permanent disability. She was very outspoken on the subject of Hungarians and somehow the argument with Hoffman developed into interest and in 1924 he married this forthright Scottish ex-army nursing sister. The marriage proved to be successful and happy and my wife and I shared many happy hours with this couple in London, Vienna, Budapest, Saskatoon, Wakaw, and Victoria, British Columbia. In 1926, Frank Hoffman came on my staff as certificate-issuing officer of the Department of Colonization of Canadian National Railways

and I accompanied him to Budapest, his first return since 1914. In a restaurant, a gypsy band played the stirring music never reduced to score, instinctive with the spirit of the plains and Hungarian past. As we sipped some Tokay wine, Frank Hoffman put his elbows on the table, the violinist moved to our table by his side, and tears fell as the strains of the violin seemed to sob with him. This tough cavalryman, agriculturalist, scholar, prisoner of war, escapee from Bolshevik hanging, a gypsy of the Siberian steppes, now United Church clergyman, knew the moods of the nomads, the homeless, and the shelterless. His physical frame had endured frost, dew, rain, hot sun, toil, privation, hardship, and the roughest of inadequate food and now his task was to select settlers for Canada under the Department of Colonization of Canadian National Railways.

He spent three years on this assignment and his integrity was a valuable asset. I recall that once in Zagreb he threw a man who offered him a bribe out of his room; the man returned next day with a medical bill for repairs. Such was the physical strength of Hoffman that when he threw the man out, he did not realize that he had thrown him with such violence. He returned after this C.N.R. period to his work as a missionary in northern Saskatchewan and found himself helping many of the settlers he had selected to adjust themselves on their northern Saskatchewan farms. During his period in Hungary, it is interesting to note that he called on Regent Horthy, who was known as a Calvinist. Introducing his wife and upon mentioning the incident of the sinking, Horthy replied, "Madam, we did not know you were on board."

In northern Saskatchewan Hoffman served an area of 60,000 square miles with seventeen Hungarian settlements, initiated the building of churches and halls, and was always the hardest manual worker on the sites. In 1945 at the age of sixty-eight, he retired to Victoria, but there was little leisure. He maintained a good garden, was the assistant pastor in Centennial Church, assisted immigration authorities as interpreter, kept up a wide correspondence with Hungarian settlers, lectured on Christian themes, and when no Arab lecturer was available he substituted and gave the university course on Mohammedanism. When in 1956 rebellion against the communist regime broke out in Hungary and within three months ten thousand Hungarians reached Canada, to become 30,000 by mid-1957, he redoubled his efforts to aid them and placed a heavy strain upon his heart. On October 29, 1958, he had a heart attack and died quietly at the age of eighty-one years. Centennial Church was filled at his funeral. We sang to the tune of Crimond, the beautiful paraphrase of the 23rd Psalm, while my memories recalled his great indomitable spirit in Budapest, on Hungarian and northern Saskatchewan farms, in Victoria gardens and the kindness

and unfailing courtesy with which he served the Saskatchewan settlers of his adopted country.

LEONARD W. BROCKINGTON

In 1935, Leonard Brockington, who had been city solicitor of Calgary since 1922 and was already well-known for his gift of public speech, became counsel for a number of grain firms of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. His speech at the dinner inaugurating his term sparkled with wit. He described some grain enterprises as having "one foot in the pit and the other in the pool," and in time he gently moved his employers into a greater awareness of farmers' needs and to a diminution of the antagonism between Wheat Pool leaders and personnel and those in the Grain Exchange. Both "Brock," as I came to know him, and Pete McQueen, Professor of Economics at the University of Manitoba (who also came from Alberta), were raconteurs of note and in the Manitoba Club the time passed all too quickly.

Leonard Brockington was born in Cardiff, Wales, April 6, 1888, educated at the University of Wales, taught in a grammar school in England, and in 1912 emigrated to Edmonton, Alberta, where he worked for a time as a journalist and civil servant. He studied law in Calgary with Lougheed, Bennett and Company and was called to the Alberta bar in 1919, becoming a member of the firm. In 1922, he was appointed Calgary City Solicitor. When I first met him in 1935, he was crippled by rheumatoid arthritis and his tall figure had been twisted out of a normal posture, the head being thrown forward. His hair was sandy, shaggy, and often out of control, and the bushy eyebrows and glasses concealed the sharp, intelligent eyes. One client who couldn't remember his name referred to him as the man who looked like Highland cattle. He made little reference to his disability or the suffering it had occasioned him, though it was clear that sometimes he had considerable pain. Once he asked me in an intimate conversation how his arthritic frame affected audiences, and I told him that the unusual image, suggesting a record of pain overcome, undoubtedly predisposed an audience to sympathetic reception; it was rare for a speaker to have this initial welcome. I cited the case of Franklin D. Roosevelt as an example and remarked that F.D.R. and Brock each had a remarkably musical voice. Brock's voice reflected his musical knowledge and his love of singing. His wife shared this love and knowledge of music, and sometimes when driving she and Brock would sing snatches of Gilbert and Sullivan operas. Both had sung them on stage in Calgary and Brock with his powerful memory could recall every line. Sometimes at our flat on Goldbourn Avenue, Ottawa, in the early forties he would pick up a book and I would be surprised later how he could use whole passages he had read casually and carelessly. From his

well-stored mind there poured forth anecdotes, puns, quotations, particularly when he had a congenial audience.

One night my wife and I were in his home listening to a radio talk during World War II by Wickham Steed, at one time editor of *The Times* in London and a well-known authority on central Europe. Wickham Steed's maladjusted false teeth plates could be heard, punctuated by whistling consonants. In turning off the radio, I said "Well, that was Wickham Steed"; Brock interjected, "You mean Click'em Steed." One day in the Rideau Club at lunch he was pointing out to a Western Canadian guest the notables around, including Graham Towers, the first governor of the Bank of Canada, and then remarked, "It's very nice to be a high priest of anything. Parliamentary committees understand little of the mysteries of banking, and welcome the high priest appearing as a witness." On his last visit to Victoria to address an international convention of the Junior League, I recall that the sheets of his speech were scattered about his room in the Empress Hotel and he instructed the Vancouver Odeon Theatre manager accompanying him, pointing at one corner of the room, that if he started with that sheet and picked them up around they would be in order. But when he came to tie his black tie he struck one of the many handicaps imposed by his malady. I was helpless to accomplish this small service on another person. Luckily I thought of the head waiter, who did the job beautifully.

Brock had flown into Victoria in the afternoon. This was in the fifties. He was leaving by air at 6:00 a.m. and in three days was to give a dinner at the Athenaeum, London, England, at which James Bone, Sir Alan Herbert, and other literary notables were to be his guests. After reciting the list of guests to me he said, "And also a gentleman named Gene Tunney." I recalled Alan Herbert's remark about the Athenaeum: "If elderly bishops were seen leaving the Athenaeum with jugs of stout in their hands, the casual observer would form an impression of the character of that institution which would be largely unjust."

Towards the end of Brock's life, I was amused by an account in a letter to me of his attendance at a sportsmen's dinner in Regina, accompanied by Gene Tunney and Jack Dempsey and the contrast in his and their physical condition. Once in Ottawa, Brock explained to us that an appointment to the Senate in Canada was a passport to a long life and then added, "You know there isn't a good case of rheumatoid arthritis in the Senate and I would welcome the longevity conferred by an appointment."

In January 1940, he became adviser to Prime Minister Mackenzie King. He found the Prime Minister's pedestrian style obscure and that Mr. King often elided the more striking passages of the speeches suggested by Brock.

He had been Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation from 1936 to 1939 and his voice and brilliant command of language were already familiar to the Canadian public. He was much sought after on notable occasions as an after-dinner speaker. He was probably the greatest master of the spoken word that Canada has ever known. When at his best, he was the equal of any orator of our generation, either in Britain or in the United States. Lord Tweedsmuir said he was Canada's greatest interpreter. It is doubtful if a spokesman of this calibre will ever be found again. He was always reluctant to make short speeches. He needed about three-quarters of an hour to develop his theme and move to a peroration; usually beginning with orthodox courtesies seasoned by current and local references to familiar places and persons and spiced with puns, witty anecdotes, and inimitable humour. Suddenly would come the apt quotation. In dark World War II days in Philadelphia after mention of the Liberty Bell (September 12, 1940), he said, "Here I stand in the hope of mankind, amid the heartbreak in the heart of things. I can hear across your river, the voice of Walt Whitman: 'Liberty relies upon itself, invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed and knows no discouragement — the battle rages, the enemy triumphs. The cause is asleep, young men drop their eyelashes towards the ground. And has liberty gone? No, never. When liberty goes, it is not the first thing to go nor the second or the third, it waits for all the rest to go. It is the last'." Or it would be Emerson's dictum, "The North American continent is God's charity to mankind." — to an American audience.

In 1942-3, he became adviser on Commonwealth affairs to the British Minister of Information in London. This man, crippled by his malady, was slung aboard in a cradle on a navy ship to give an eyewitness account for the B.B.C. and C.B.C. of the Normandy invasion.

At the end of the war, he became President of the Odeon theatres chain and represented Lord Rank in Canada, but though busy he was always available to speak on behalf of good causes or praise famous men. He was created a C.M.G. for his war service in 1946 and in that same year was elected Rector of Queen's University, to which post he continued to be re-elected until his death on September 18, 1966. The office of Rector, bringing him into touch with students, was one he enjoyed. As former President of the Classical Association of Canada, he brought to his public appearances at Queen's a sense of the continuing tradition of the humanities as well as a touch of the forensic persuasive eloquence of a great advocate and above all a deep compassion for his fellow man.

In his eulogy of Winston Churchill, he said:

It will be *one of the great miracles* of history that by a happy and

> fortunate meeting of preparation and opportunity at the same time and place, this man became the leader of a brave nation in the time of its greatest test and tribulation. He grew in stature amid the thunder and lightning of earth-shattering events. His shining quality moved to new heights and raised him up in a place of authority. He asked no man to take risks which he would not willingly take himself. If he knew fear, he never spoke of it. If he felt pity, as he often did, he neither felt nor showed any for himself. He believed in resolution in war, defiance in victory, magnaminity in defeat, good will in peace.

If we could pay tribute to Leonard Brockington in his eloquent terms we should have to remember his courage in the face of physical handicaps and disabilities and to record the shining devotion of his wife in suffering, adversity, uncertainty, and triumph and the way in which she husbanded his resources and cared for his two sons, Colin, a successful doctor, and Lawrence, a prosperous accountant, their wives and families, while he commuted between London and Toronto and journeyed all over the world. I knew, too, of his amazing secret generosities to his friends and to the unfortunate. He could never seem to limit the giving and with this his good lady had to reckon in running the household expenses. Describing E.J. Pratt, A.Y. Jackson, and Healey Willan at a Canadian Club dinner, he said these men had all been "great givers, most of their banking has been done in the hearts of their friends." May I as an old friend record the impression made on me by this man with great talents stricken by a dread incurable malady that twisted his body, who refused to surrender his genius to pain and disability and immobility. Crossing the Atlantic in a Liberator bomber, he occupied an army folding cot amidships under a plexiglass dome. He asked one of the crew what the dome was for. "It's the escape hatch in case we ditch." "Well," said Brock, "Just take care none of you step on me on the way out." He was full of the grace of pity. His gallantry, his integrity, his vision were bright beacons in the despair of the thirties and the bitter conflict of the forties. Perhaps the best tribute I can pay is to use a quotation which he once used with respect to Sir Winston Churchill. It is some prophetic words that were written by a Celtic poet over 300 years ago and there is much in these lines that refers to the spirit of Leonard Brockington:

> Strange is the vigour in a brave man's soul. The strength of his spirit and his irresistible power, the greatness of his heart and the height of his condition, his mighty confidence and contempt of dangers, his true security and repose in himself, his liberty to dare and do what he pleaseth, his alacrity in the midst of fears, his invincible temper are advantages which make him master of fortune. His courage fits him

for all attempts, makes him serviceable to God and man, and makes him the bulwark and defence of his being and his country.

JAMES THOMAS MILTON ANDERSON

The depression years of the thirties submerged the reputation of the Conservative-Progressive coalition that ruled the province of Saskatchewan from 1929 to 1934. No government in Canada before had faced such agricultural disaster. The combination of depression and drought had almost destroyed the fabric of the social and political structure of the province, and had quite unfairly in many ways diminished the achievement and record of Dr. J.T.M. Anderson, the Conservative leader and the head of the coalition administration during those dark days.

I met him first in 1920 when he placed me in charge of the Slawa Rural School near Hafford. He visited our home many times and we joined him on tours of schools and were guests in his home. He and his family and my wife and I spent an unforgettable camping holiday in Banff in 1922, motoring there from Regina and returning by car over dusty gravel roads. In the days of his premiership and later, I had his confidence and learned at first hand the political struggle and financial difficulties of those years.

He was born in Ontario in 1878 and had much less than the ordinary high school education, but managed to get a permit to teach in Ontario between 1897 and 1903 at Richards Landing. He then moved to Manitoba and lived and taught school among the Icelanders between the lakes in Manitoba from 1906 to 1908, acquiring some knowledge of the Icelandic language. In 1908, he came to a school near Melville at Grand Plains from 1908 to 1910, and later he taught at Grenfell as principal of a school there from 1910 to 1911. Here he met Edith Redgwick, a teacher, and there was no doubt that she was the influence that inspired him to take an arts course at Wesley College, Winnipeg. He graduated a silver medalist in classics in May and married Edith Redgwick the following July. He was then thirty years of age and before marriage had been content to carry on without much concern for a university education. He had talent with pencil and pen — made lightning portrait sketches and was a master of calligraphy. Suddenly about 1911 his energy erupted as a student and he worked for higher degrees, while carrying on as principal of Grenfell school. He was appointed a school inspector in 1911 and kept up a heavy schedule of studies, pinning notes to the windshield of his old Ford car. In 1914, he got his M.A. degree, in 1915 his LL.B., and in 1918 won a doctorate of pedagogy from the University of Toronto.

At this time he was interested in the education of what he termed "New

Canadians," at a time during the war days of World War I when the new immigrants who had arrived prior to 1914 were neglected and sometimes looked on with suspicion as enemy aliens. In 1918, he was appointed Director of Education among new Canadians and for four years he traveled incessantly through the non-Anglo-Saxon communities; encouraged scores of teachers to take teaching jobs in the rural schools in the areas; co-operated with church bodies, the I.O.D.E., and the Red Cross, promoting schemes for hospital and medical aid, nursing services, and libraries; organized school fairs and sports days; pioneered the use of documentary silent films to illustrate better schools and encourage community development; and preached vigorous Canadian citizenship. He had in this campaign the defect of a somewhat narrow Ontario background. He was an Orangeman; that was not uncommon among some politicians in that period; for example, the Honourable Sam Latta, Liberal Minister of Education in Saskatchewan, like J.T.M. Anderson was an Orangeman, a teacher, and a lover of good handwriting. Dr. Anderson at this time was a joiner — a Mason, a member of the new Native Sons Organization, a Kiwanis member, and so forth, but he turned the attention of these organizations to his work and took every opportunity to solicit their aid and good will. He tended thus to overemphasize the assimilation aspect of his objectives, and was not as aware as he later became of the need to seek contribution from those of central European stock from what was good in their cultures, to seek integration and not surrender traditional handicraft, folk art, folk music, folk ways, European languages and literatures, and past heritages. Nevertheless, in the post-World War I years, 1918-22, he made a notable contribution to the improvement of rural schools in Saskatchewan in areas that were being neglected and where new immigrants were uncertain about the working of democratic local government and the operation of new schools in what was to them an entirely new world in a raw pioneer country.

His enemies and those who knew his conservative Ontario leanings were apprehensive of his growing influence and eventually had his post abolished. He became Inspector of Schools in Saskatoon in 1922. In 1924, he became leader of the Conservative party in Saskatchewan, and with Jack Currie of Winnipeg formed a school supply business to maintain himself. There followed days of disappointment, inadequate income, and insecurity but he managed to win a seat in the Legislative Assembly in 1925 along with three other Conservatives. In the 1929 election, the number of Conservative members increased to twenty-five. There followed the formation under his premiership of a coalition government in which he held the portfolios of education and natural resources. To meet the economic and social calamity of low farm prices and drought and the precipitous fall in provincial

revenues, the Anderson government established a comprehensive relief program, introduced measures for the protection of debtors, unreservedly supported the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, and met expenditures by heavy borrowing, federal government assistance, and increased taxes. The transfer of natural resources from federal control was accomplished and a new Natural Resources Administration under the premier was established. Despite the unprecedented depression, a variety of constructive measures in education, public health, civil service organization, and highway construction was implemented. Religious garb in the separate schools had been a sharp political issue in the 1929 election and much sectarian and anti-Catholic strife had resulted. Premier Anderson's participation in Orange parades did not help to solve this problem. However, I took him along at his request to meet Roman Catholic Archbishop Sinnott of Winnipeg. His Grace remarked to him genially that he himself had been brought up in Prince Edward Island and knew Orangemen as good neighbours. The important point was that they shared a belief in Christianity and were not godless or atheists and he saw no reason why there should not be an amicable arrangement in the disputed matters in Saskatchewan with good will on both sides. The conversation laid the basis of better understanding.

The WASP protestant image of the Conservatives in Saskatchewan, however, continued to embitter politics and haunt the party until the rise of John Diefenbaker. In the provincial general election of 1934, the Conservative party was wiped out completely, defeated by the Liberal party, and in 1936 Anderson retired from the leadership. The years after 1934 were difficult for him: cynics please note — he had saved no money during his period of office and found political life expensive. He again ran unsuccessfully as a Conservative candidate for the House of Commons in 1935. He engaged in the insurance business until 1944, suffering periods of ill health. In 1944 he was appointed superintendent of the School for the Deaf by the C.C.F. government and was happy again to be back as educator in a field where the special talents of teacher and administrator were matched to his task.

In 1946 he died, and not long after his faithful and loyal wife died, leaving one son and one daughter, to whom the parents were devoted. He was a man of extraordinary energy, far more tolerant than his enemies thought. He had a good knowledge of procedure; to see him preside at a legislative council in the parliamentary buildings, Regina, one was struck by his ability as chairman and his great grasp of the topography and peoples of Saskatchewan, its educational and municipal organization and its regional needs. He made a useful contribution to the building of Saskatchewan, but he might have accomplished more if he had made a greater effort to overcome

the limitations of his Ontario upbringing. He was scarcely aware how important it is to scrutinize carefully the attitudes and prejudices developed in youth. I enjoyed the 1920-3 association with him when he was at his best. He remained my friend while premier and would have liked me to join his civil service and help with the Natural Resources Department, but at that time I enjoyed my work in the C.N.R. and would have been worried by the sharpened political climate of Regina.

GEORGE MOIR WEIR

I first met George Weir in the early twenties when I was a rural school teacher near Hafford, Saskatchewan. He was then in his later thirties and was principal of the Normal School, Saskatoon, and paid visits to Radisson, twelve miles away, to see Miss Marie Smith, then Principal of the high school in that town. She was attractive, very intelligent, efficient, occasionally irreverent, an arts graduate of Queen's with a love of poetry and life, who had been very hospitable to my school pupils at school fairs in Radisson. We all looked on with amazement when the erudite, educational administrator with his record of brilliant academic success, his undoubted talent for public speech and public affairs, and his province-wide prestige, at last, with no doubt a wealth of psychological learning, persuaded Marie to marry him in 1926, when he was forty-one years of age.

He was born in Manitoba on May 10, 1885, the son of a minister (United Church), and was educated at McGill University, graduating in arts in 1911. He got his M.A. at the University of Saskatchewan in 1914 and spent some time teaching school. He also won an M.A. at the University of Chicago and finally completed his pedagogy studies at Queen's University, being awarded a doctorate in philosophy in 1918. He and Dr. J.T.M. Anderson were friends and he sometimes visited us at Slawa School when Dr. Anderson was coming to stay with us. Not only did George Weir pursue a wide range of studies in educational psychology, but he became something of an authority in constitutional law and when principal of the Normal School passed the legal examinations, entitling him to be called to the Saskatchewan bar. He became Grand Master of the Masonic Order of Saskatchewan and wielded enormous influence in that fraternity because of the prodigous memory he had for the ritual of the order and also his mastership of assembly and procedure. Owing to his unique status, he personally encouraged the then small number of Masons in the province to contribute over $20,000 towards the War Memorial scholarships providing Normal School training to graduates of universities and similarly qualified selected personnel who were prepared to spend a year or more in schools of communities of central European origin.

As my rural school at Slawa was a pilot project for the scheme, I became a scholarship holder and at Normal School was on hand at seminars in the group covering rural school practice and methods. I was to write the account of the venture and when George Weir became professor and head of the Education Department at the University of British Columbia (1926), my wife and I visited him and Marie in Vancouver in 1929 when we were on a visit to Canada from London. While in Winnipeg with the Canadian National Railways, he and I kept in touch. He spent considerable time in my office, Room 100, Union Station, when doing his survey of nursing conditions in Canada. Characteristically, he took the medical courses himself and formed opinions as to the merit and quality of the teaching. His study of nursing conditions did much to reform the methods of training nurses in Canada. He spared no pains to see that his statistical and other data were soundly based and by this time understood modern techniques of sampling and statistical analysis. With J.H. Putnam in 1925 he had done an authoritative survey of the British Columbia school system and was the author of *The Separate School Question in Canada* (1934), updating his published Ph.D. thesis on the "Evolution of the Separate School Law in the Prairie Provinces."

But all was not well with the educational system in British Columbia in 1933. It was particularly so with the University of British Columbia. Dr. Tolmie's Conservative government had as Minister of Education the Reverend Mr. Hinchcliffe, who cut the grant to the university in particular in such a way as to cripple that institution. George Weir found himself aligned against the government in controversy. In November 1933, he was elected to represent Vancouver Point Grey in the provincial legislature and became Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education in the Patullo Liberal government. He held these offices until his defeat in the election of 1941, when Walter Woods, then Associate Deputy Minister of Pensions and National Health, and I persuaded him to come to Ottawa to help us with Veterans' Rehabilitation, particularly on the vocational training side. The Minister of Defence, the Honourable J.L. Ralston, on the return of all three of us to Ottawa at Christmas 1941 drafted me to assist him in setting up the Dependents' Board of Trustees and I lost my Christmas holiday. Mr. Ralston persuaded George Weir to become its Chairman in the initial stages of its operation.

When this Board had been set up and was in operation, George Weir returned to the Department of Pensions, which was soon to become the Department of Veterans' Affairs, to organize the vocational training facilities. He returned to Vancouver in 1945 in time to win election again to the provincial legislature — this time as a Liberal coalitionist — and he resumed

his task as Minister of Education. He continued as Minister of Education in the Byron Johnson administration but in 1946 and 1947, ill health slowed his activities and he retired finally in December 1947. He died on December 4, 1949. My wife and I saw him for the last time in the spring of 1948 when he was using all his willpower to offset the paralysis that strokes had wrought and we knew we were saying good-bye to an old friend, a pioneer in education, social welfare, and medical insurance. He led the movement favouring larger units of administration, campaigned successfully for more generous provincial support of education at all levels. He rescued the University of British Columbia from a precarious financial position. With Laura Holland, George Davidson, Alan Peebles, and Harry Cassidy he inaugurated a modern system of welfare services, introduced legislation providing for child welfare, mothers' allowances, and professionally trained welfare field officers, and he reorganized the provincial institutions dealing with juvenile delinquency. He instituted reform of the curriculum under Mr. King, pioneered the recreation movement under Ian Eisenhardt, and reorganized vocational training under John Kyle and Colonel S.T. Fairey. He gave new life to the correspondence courses under J.W. Gibson. He initiated the drama movement in the schools under Major Bullock-Webster. He took every opportunity to encourage night schools to be operated by the school boards. He improved library services, particularly the regional library services, and backed the University of British Columbia in the inauguration of the Extension Department in 1936. In 1936, he persuaded the legislature to pass a health insurance act. Although a commission was appointed, the legislation was never implemented, owing in some measure to the opposition of the medical practitioners. In this field, he was ahead of his time and I felt that this disappointment and his defeat in the election of 1941 somewhat blunted the force of the political sagacity he had heretofore shown throughout his career and dissipated some of the discipline he once held so firm over the spoken word.

In his best and creative years — in the classroom, on the platform and in debate — he was a clear and convincing speaker, thoroughly documented, logic and literature falling into place in paragraphs of firm prose, while one caught a sense of ethical purpose, a social vision, and remembered that Manitoba Christian minister's home. The public service records of the rest of his family, nurtured in the same atmosphere, testify to the early upbringing.

Of the educational leaders known to me in Western Canada whom I have discussed, everyone had received a classical training. All were Christian in outlook and attitudes. All were idealists, yet aware of the economic realities of earning a living and meeting a budget. None were doctrinaire free

enterprise advocates. They knew the place for and importance of public control, social welfare, and education, there was an informal benevolence, a human understanding, and a faith in the future, beyond political party understanding, and a faith in the future, beyond political party affiliation and the classrooms of educational institutions — for them there was no ivory tower, only a commitment to excellence.

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FAILURES AND FULFILMENT

In recording my memories of adult education, I am conscious that I have said little about the vital and interesting topics of sex, money, religion, politics, and failure decreed by the conventions of my day as unsuitable subjects of conversation in an officers' mess, club, or in polite gatherings and hedged about in reticence and some degree of good taste. Now the climate of opinion has changed and the young in particular tend to be inquisitive about the unmentionable and expect candour and a lack of cant in any recall of our past. Otherwise, we older folk are labelled boring, formal, restricted, and conformist, while the young like to be thought of as fresh, frank, spontaneous, liberated, idealistic, experimental, and contemptuous of rules and traditions. This too easy contrast between the generations omits the confrontations of the past, especially the bitterness with which front-line soldiers of World War I viewed the conduct of that war and the controls of the society of that time — political, social, economic — by the older generation. In 1924, Evelyn Waugh left Oxford, denouncing the university as tedious, graceless, and second-rate and asked what there was left to hope for except a war or a revolution. We may remind our young rebels that life has always been amateurish, haphazard, crude, and tiresome and that it is the function of youth to innovate, reorganize, reform, and above all to add to and not to subtract from our sum of knowledge and our resources.

Of course, I recognize the sharper edge to the protest of youth, its methods too often borrowed from the armoury of totalitarianism left and right, sabotaging the pattern of democratic dialogue. The new anarchism regards our existing western order as an evil thing to be destroyed by any and every means, and tends to justify the means, setting up as a new deity the demagogic mass — students, workers, "everyone in distress, in debt and discontented, to the new cave of Adullam" as in the days of ancient Israel and David. Some revolt may be triggered by monotony, lack of a frontier or adventure, some may be due to eccentricity — both causes of creative forces, as T.S. Eliot has pointed out. It has become increasingly difficult to draw a line between the theatre and the street, between art and non-art, and between pop and patrician, but amid the chaos of our era I would still affirm the values of truth, beauty, and goodness and deny merit to irrationality and indolence. Furthermore, I deplore the sackcloth and ashes and "peccavi" cries of so many of our academic mandarins. Recently, a disting-

uished diplomat, Principal Escott Reid, assured a student audience that the older generation of pre-1914 had blundered into war, continued to blunder in war, made a mess of the peace, and the next generation had continued to blunder into and during the depression, and that youth was right to revolt, instancing his own feelings of revolt in the twenties and thirties.

The internationally known literary critic, Northrop Frye, takes a more careful, philosophical view, while noting that, in a sense, the recent student revolts are a part of a continuous critique of the order and assumptions of our society, points out that we belong to something before we are anything and what we belong to is a mixture of good and bad. Whatever we join contains evils, what we accept is the guilt of belonging to it, and we still need "the authority of the logical argument, the repeatable experiment, the established fact, the compelling work of art." This goes to the root of the attack on the older generation as the guilty men, who themselves suffer a sense of guilt about unaccomplished things, whereas the rebel seems to revel in tasks undone, half-closed doors, half-finished letters, and unwashed dishes. An act completed is an identity established, a relationship acknowledged, and an obligation accepted. In my time, the past may have been irrevocable, the future uncertain, the present insufficient, and the tools astoundingly inadequate but we endeavoured to finish the job. Let our youth face it, if France and the British Empire had been defeated by the imperialistic Germany of Ludendorf and Hindenburg in 1914-18, when the United States and Canada were without the power to meet the onslaught of the victorious German Army, the world would have been ruled by a "blood and power" might that would have made parliamentary or any form of democracy impossible. There would have been no Russian Revolution, no upsurge of autonomous new states in central Europe, no self-determination of the peoples of the world, no League of Nations, and the United States would have been confronted with a German instead of a British Empire in its northern neighbour, Canada, deprived of British and French overseas influences.

The Allies did win World War I, but failed to make this clear to the German armies and reactionary forces in Germany. Too often, we also failed to understand that without the sacrifice of one million seven hundred thousand killed in the czarist Russian Army between 1914 and 1917, the allies would have lost World War I and in World War II a similar fate would have fallen upon us without the help of the Soviet Russian armies and without the deaths of 7½ millions. It is important to retain a sense of proportion with respect to our contribution and also to discount the cynical view of the sacrifices by assuming the pre-1914 German government was motivated by similar democratic aims as those of France, Belgium, Britain,

the dominions, and the United States, but no country is immune to growth of violent groups. We have been horrified by the atrocities of Hitler, but I have witnessed the abuse of the Red Cross flag by the German Army in 1917 bringing ammunition to the front line after a raid on Avion in 1917. The report of the Lord Bryce Commission on German Army atrocities, in occupied territory in World War I, was based on carefully sifted evidence and indicated there were forces in Germany then which believed in rule by fear.

I feel almost apologetic for these rather obvious observations, but they were prompted by my survey of comment and lack of comment on the last parade of 100 delegates from units of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-18, at Ottawa on November 11, 1968 on the 50th anniversary of the Armistic in 1918. These men were survivors mainly of that invincible Canadian Corps so closely linked with the emergence of the Canadian nation as a viable and valiant people and their parade was a dramatic and dignified exit. It must be acknowledged that while for us the occasion was one of deep, moving significance, it was for many of the younger generation a tale of old men recalling senseless suffering in a cycle of bloody mistakes, an incomprehensible tragedy of blundering battles fought blindly by their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. However, apart from the enormous political results, I think in this personal memoir I ought to record the lifelong effect that the years 1916-19, spent overseas, had upon me and my attitudes and I feel sure the effects upon many comrades were just as indelible.

Keeping in mind the modern scene, let's note the unusual features. Never again will men go to war with such volunteer keenness, such anxiety to be considered decent sorts, such respect for their country and its military command and willingness to undergo hardships and what seemed an adventure. The ardour has vanished, but the pages of Robert Graves, Edmund Blunden, Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, and Guy Chapman reveal the lucidity mentioned by Teilhard de Chardin. "This heightening," Teilhard mentioned, "is not yet without pain. All the same it is a heightening and that is why in spite of everything one loves the front and regrets it." This lucidity derived something from the desolate landscape with its smashed debris of civilization; rusting wire and metal and dead things made a "déjà vu" impression that somehow stripped the mind of all conventional values. You had to move by stealth below the level of the earth. Parade ground drill, etiquette, military bearing and stance and dignity had to give way to moving like a pack animal, loaded with equipment and bombs, crawling on all fours, hanging on to the hip tops of gum boots, otherwise the boots would be sucked into the mud. What was left — guts, disciplined comrade-

ship, strangeness, and wonder why on earth you were in this mess, superstitious respect for fate, not liking to think that God had anything to do with our misery, esteem for the men who could face it and show no alarm although all knew fear, and above all contempt for those who evaded front line duty, a raid, or an attack, and the curious psychological twist that made men and officers who were wounded seek to return to their old unit and their old comrades, to the incongruous mud and blood, the indecipherable malevolence at times of military orders, the ironic accidents, the irrationality, futility, insignificance, and risks of the front line and yet paradoxically until killed or wounded each felt he was vital to the salvation of his country.

While the soldier lived, creature comforts, rum, rations, cigarettes, rest billets, and leave ranked so high that it was simply taken for granted that the ordinary amenities of civilization were luxurious. Forever after, a veteran always wonders whether the luck of home comforts will last and remembers the abandon with which he spent money on leave and the heightened pleasures of wine, women, and song — "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." It's hard to explain why anyone who has once had the experience of hot metal smashing into flesh, bone, and muscle should ever want to face that experience again, since physically it is hard to maintain complete composure under fire, yet this happens. Some of it was due to an unwillingness to be part of the ordering machine of the rear organization of the staff rather than one of the suffering victims. Hotspur airs the grudge of the combatants against the brass hats.

> I remember when the fight was done,
> When I was dry with rage and extreme toil,
> Breathless and faint, leaning upon my sword,
> Came there a certain lord, neat and trimly dressed,
> Fresh as a bridegroom.

But with the infantry battalion as I sometimes marched along a poplar-lined road through French villages and alongside green fields, the martial music of the Royal Canadian Regiment Band made one forget the murk, muck, and mire and waterlogged trenches and there was some temporary assuagement from the holocaust, a sense of mutuality shared with young men who trusted one another unto death. Here then were the roots of life with all the attitudes that for good or ill had determined the careers of those who survived the ordeal.

When I went overseas, I knew little about sex; there was no adequate and frank discussion of the subject. On the train from Camp Hughes in 1916 on the way overseas I had a companion, a fellow officer, L.E. Brownell, an

M.A. from the University of Manitoba who had been secretary of the World's Purity Congress in San Francisco in 1915, but his warnings were against venereal disease and premarital sex and were quite discreet. I joined him at a visit to some friends' in London and at my suggestion we took some charming girls to a musical revue in Leicester Square. This must have shaken his ideals a little. The Bishop of London addressed a gathering of young officers in Bramshott and assured us that celibacy had contributed to his physical prowess at squash and urged on us a regime of continence. This was a counsel of perfection for those officers who expected short lives and wanted to enjoy every hour of their short leaves in Paris or London. I had the luck to fall in love with my nurse in 1917. We were married in 1919, and lived happily thereafter until her death in 1966. I may add that my abbreviation of this side of my story is mainly owing to a dear friend of forty-five years who reminded me how unremarkable, uninteresting, and irrelevant are such encounters of half a century ago in the context of today. But it is well to query myths. For example, the amazing thing is that many war marriages were successful, contrary to much war fiction. Divorce was rare among those I knew. This doesn't say that the wives had the luck to find good providers, for many of us had difficulty economically.

Perhaps I can put it in a more personal fashion, and it may encourage a little more optimism about improvident youth. I started to earn money at fifteen years of age and became self-supporting at seventeen, and in every year since 1910 have managed to earn something, although in retirement the amount has been small, but neither my wife as a nursing sister nor I as an officer, in World War I, saved anything. In 1920 when I was twenty-six our confrontation with possible and, indeed at that time probable, invalidity, compelled us to budget more carefully. I suppose that an outside observer noting that we lived in the next quarter of a century in Paris, London, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Ottawa and freely enjoyed their attractions, crossing the Atlantic thirteen times by steamship to do so, would hardly credit that we did retain our budgetary control. I never owned an automobile until I was forty-two and my total net capital outlay for cars in my lifetime has been about $3,200. Ownership of houses has never occasioned any capital loss at all. Of course we tried speculative stocks, and my wife loved to go to the races, where she bet nearly always on losers; the $4,000 lost in all these ways seem to have been balanced by bequests of about $6,000 and some little appreciation of equity shares. Impending illness and disability compelled retirement from active salaried employment at fifty, and we owe peace of mind to a good garden, annuities, and even more rigid control of our modest requirements. There has been no hardship, no household debt, enough money for books, and the enjoyment of

living near the sea amid trees, shrubs, and flowers. It is now old-fashioned to believe in thrift, but I can testify that without it, our happiness would have been impossible; equally so if we had been too parsimonious.

Towards political partisanship and religious affiliation my wife and I remained neutral; she maintained her disapproval of any participation by me in politics and I respected her opinion. I never completely shook off the disrespect learned in the trenches for any form of arbitrary authoritarianism in affairs. The brass hats remained my "bête noir" for life. Of course, I recognized the need for logistical controls in the organization of services and supplies, but I thought there was much to be said in favour of the system of rotation in posts of command practised by some monastic orders. Lord Acton was right — power tends to corrupt. The motives which dictated my reluctance on occasion to accept appointments of considerable responsibility were complex, maybe a little fear of failure but certainly among them was this prejudice in favour of those being ordered about, and disenchantment with those doing the ordering. Yet I had no special attachment to the underdog nor had I any unworldly desire to crusade for the underprivileged, though rather critical of comfortable power manipulating the uncomfortable and defenceless. I know many of my comrades shared these attitudes; not entirely assets when handicapped by physical disabilities, lack of training and education, they sought rehabilitation in Canadian society.

In the thirties my barber in Winnipeg had cut my hair in the trenches; a solicitous waiter in the Fort Garry Hotel I had dug out of a shell hole in France; the C.N.R. ticket clerk at Saskatoon had been one of my scouts; my accident insurance was attended to by a battle comrade officer; Lieutenant-Colonel C.R.E. Willets, O.C. of P.P.C.L.I., had been my commanding officer; and three of the officers of the P.P.C.L.I. had served with me. My bombing sergeant in the trenches had become an Anglican parson in Saskatchewan; my assistant in the C.N.R. in London had been a P.P.C.L.I. officer; my superintendent in Holland in the C.N.R. had served with the 49th battalion. My old comrade of Vimy Ridge was a doctor, a specialist in Toronto. Paddy Carrothers was a Professor of Economics in Saskatchewan and Milton Gregg, V.C., M.C., had moved to Ottawa as Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons and later had a notable career as a minister of the Crown. In London I used to meet the incomparable Colonel Hamilton Gault and the gallant Colonel Georges Vanier. My work, being concerned with land settlement, renewed associations with many members of the Soldiers' Settlement Board, whose service in France made co-operation with them easy and enjoyable. From World War I patients of my wife were to be found scattered over the West, including the Minister of Agriculture at Ottawa. The Adjutant of P.P.C.L.I. was Captain J.S. Woods, M.C. Bar,

an old comrade whose widow is a dear friend of my lifetime. Her daughter, a successful research chemist, is my god-daughter.

Perhaps that looks like a purely personal continuation of the comradeship of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, but when one considers the history and growth of the Canadian Legion and the way in which Legion halls affected local community life in the smaller towns of Canada, it must be recognized that this comradeship of veterans of World War I had its influence on national life. In World War II, without the stimulus and support of the Canadian Legion, the War Amputations of Canada, the Canadian Corps Association, the Army and Navy Veterans, the war effort of Canada would have been gravely crippled. As to the making of the rehabilitation program, particularly that part of it relating to training and education, I can testify that, without the initiative and whole-hearted support of the Canadian Legion, those of us interested in the provision of educational opportunities for servicemen would not have achieved success. Few generals were as outspoken as the one who told me bluntly in London that there was too much education in Canada. Really generous sympathy with and whole-hearted support of educational services and post-discharge re-establishment measures and their planning cannot be said to have been characteristic of the army command. Both air force and navy commands were more helpful, as they were early obliged to upgrade the literacy and competency of recruits by educational programs.

How did the experience of World War I really determine my future? It is hard for an autobiographer to look at his own efforts objectively. The very act of trying to tie together the haphazard activities of a lifetime into some sort of rational pattern tends to make any account seem egotistic. We tend to forget our failures. In the end most of us *do* fail and I am of that number, not in the causes I served nor in the happiness of my home, but in personal achievements. President Watson Kirkconnell attempted an estimate of his own record in his memoirs *A Slice of Canada* and wistfully concluded "My performance has not been first class in any of the things to which I have turned my hand — music, sport, linguistics, translation, original prose and verse, teaching, administration, research, nature study, soldiering, politics, church work and social services." He then discusses his diminutive salary, lack of recreation for the family, the accumulation of a library of several thousand volumes, and notes that over forty-five years, his average annual output was the publication of one book, three brochures, and fifteen articles. Clearly he asks us to accept evaluation of his enormous achievement in some hyperborean region of scholarship beyond the world of instructed Canadians; there is a pluckiness in his account of his personal adversities and of his writing. I marvel at his industry, for my own Hibern-

ian disrespect for toil and success has been incorrigible. Thus I am left in old age without a scrap of the Latin, Greek, and German I studied, a little French remains, but no mathematics of any account, none of the physics, chemistry, geology, music that at one time or another have had some attention, while economics, sociology, and contemporary history fail to stir the eagerness of my middle age.

Most of my books and articles were written to clarify issues and assist in some projects in which I was involved and they unfortunately reflect the haste and pressure of their time — a sort of reflective journalism — the causes of the rural school, agricultural extension, adult education, land settlement, immigration, citizenship and ethnic group integration, the beginnings of the Extension Department of the University of British Columbia, the Canadian Legion Educational Services, the Veterans' Charter, Veterans' Rehabilitation, the Citizenship Branch at Ottawa, the teaching of current affairs, the concern for French-Canadian participation in Canada — I have lived with these causes and projects related to them, but whatever success I have had in some of the ventures in citizenship with which I have thus been engaged, it has been owing not to any magic of administration or special perception or sagacity but to the support of unique and able friends, and the luck to have had able secretaries and assistants and staff, who in their specialized work were able to accomplish tasks beyond my competence and training, giving me not only their firm unreserved loyalty but their full devotion and the benefit of their skills.

I am also specially made humble and grateful when I meet old battle comrades of World War I, as I did at breakfast on November 13, 1968, and find that the esteem won in the front line has lasted half a century — enough courage had been vouchsafed to one in a critical and testing emergency to win their respect. I get the same feeling when a correspondent writes me about a forgotten book of mine. The book is dated, but whenever I was generous I seem to have been more nearly right than when I assumed the mantle of a pundit. Even the most skilled demographers and economists must have queasy feelings about their published work. Professor W.W. Bladen on pages 90-5 in his *Introduction to Political Science,* published in 1941, quotes Professor Hurd's projection of a 15.4 million population in Canada by 1971 and then Professor Bladen ventures the guess that Canadian immigration will not be great in the next few decades. Immigration on the contrary had its highest total in 1957 since 1913. On the other hand Professor Griffith Taylor in *Environment, Race and Immigration* (page 360), considered that the southern part of Canada could maintain a population of 100 millions, but refrained from prophecy as to when. Professor A.R.M. Lower in *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern*

Canada (page 150), published in 1936, is a little sceptical about the assimilation of Poles and Ukrainians. "The Finns in general adapt themselves to Canadian ways. Poles and Ukrainians are another story. The differences between them and the people of the land to which they have come are too great to be overcome without friction of a grave sort, and their presence in the north as is already evident in the west will impede perhaps for generations the making of a community possessed by some singleness of will."

It may be that social scientists in reaction to the sentimental background of universities and colleges derived from the initiative of Christian churches wanted to take a realistic view, a more secular tone, but when one compares the speeches of a classical scholar and university don like Enoch Powell with the writing of the non-academic Winston Churchill, there is room for speculation as to where loss of magnaminity and chivalry can lead us. The kind of protest we get from activist students seems to be a little malevolent, graceless, and discourteous. After all, our universities derive from ancient tradition and like the Crown are patrons of learning and the arts. We expect our governors-general to be models of decorum and dignity, proficient in English and French with criteria of excellence and elegance which may be thought superficial and conventional, but they have made Canadian society very different from a form with secular and republican aims. This has not weakened popular sovereignty, and indeed it may have contributed to a dialectic stress and thus to a special edge on a non-conformist outlook. We have never been a deferential electorate, and frontier freedoms brought forth a rich crop of agrarian dissidence. The concentric of government elicited the eccentric individual and voluntary effort. Economic co-operatives provided the environment for the development of democratic dialogue and adult education. Perhaps we have been inclined to build a static sort of welfare state instead of a fulfilment society — a commonwealth of opportunity. To illustrate what I mean, I may refer to the program of World War II Veterans' Rehabilitation, where we endeavoured so to frame our scheme of benefits that they tended to elicit self-improvement, making training more attractive than receipt of emergency aid, and by a structure of mutually exclusive categories compelled a choice and concentration upon an objective with time limits, keeping in mind some degree of consistency and continuity in the pattern of rehabilitation measures — reinstatement, land settlement, smallholding, fishing, remedial education, and physical rehabilitation — and backing the plan were skilled counselling services. Federal power and responsibility gave us freedom to devise, control, and administer policies, and happily the provincial governments gave the program whole-hearted support.

It is difficult to see how Canada can promote either excellence in life or

equality of opportunity without a change of emphasis from the welfare state aims to those of a fulfilment society which provides great variety of opportunities encouraging individual development of its members. Our failures to provide incentives for worthwhile projects for youth and for bilingual interchange arose mainly through our lack of the educational apparatus of a unitary state, but the obstacles of federation are not insuperable. The federal set-up was designed to protect minorities. The pluralistic community tends to enhance the liberty of the individual, whose intelligence needs liberty and the right to deny. It is interesting to note how Simone de Weil, an essentially Catholic mind, mystical yet scholarly and modern, was unwilling to follow the Maritains into membership in the Roman Catholic church. She would not accept baptism because of the obligation of full obedience and surrender of the right to doubt. The church, she noted, speaks up for individual rights against collectivity but that is because it is weak. If it were strong, what then? The usage of anathema? Intelligence, she argued, is rigorously individual and demands total liberty. She then stated the need for *attention* — all attention is turned towards God — studies develop the power of *attention* — their true and unique aim. Attention involves obedience and humility. If you search for the solution of a mathematical problem and fail to find it, there is something gained. She propounds views of the incarnation and sacraments of the Catholic Church which are unorthodox, yet not inconsistent with those of Teilhard de Chardin.

Creation is a denial, a forgetting of self; the world and the incarnation evidence the outpouring of divine love and the essence of the self-sacrificing deity. Teilhard de Chardin can describe the daily mass "as the true substance to be consecrated each day — is the world's development during the day — the bread symbolizing appropriately what creation succeeds in producing and the wine what creation causes to be lost in exhaustion and suffering in the course of the effort." There is in Simone de Weil a mystical preoccupation with the significance and mystery of suffering and death. Job refused to accept the traditional answer that all suffering comes from sin or that it is a chastening influence, but he came to a vision of God, the great interrogator, asking questions about unforgettable physical phenomena, in unforgettable poetry. "Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow? Where is the way where light dwelleth? By what way is light parted? Hath the rain a father? Who have forgotten the drops of the dew?" Science and the humanities are part of the armoury from which interrogative intelligence carries the weapons to crusade against suffering and meet death with dignity. My wife never feared death; throughout life she bore pain with fortitude. Her nurse's training gave her a competent knowledge of her own

anatomy and physiology. She knew well the symptoms of Parkinson's disease and realized that she was a victim before the doctor conceded the diagnosis. I marvelled at the calm, objective way she discussed the physical signs of her deteriorating condition with her medical adviser and specialist as if she were talking about a patient under her care, What knowledge is of most worth in the hour of suffering and death? In the end, it must relate to our human condition and our ability to endure with dignity. Alfred de Musset asserted that the most beautiful thing in life is love, and we are brought nearest to truth by suffering.

There is a link between compassion and human pain; goodness emerges as the manifestation of competent gentleness, which derives from a high degree of skill applied to meet human needs. This need is determined by the knife-edge way in which our lives are carried on. The equilibrium upon which one relies sometimes seems so stable as to conceal the abyss of suffering or failure into which we may fall at any time. We cannot do without the kindness of others. Maybe comradeship, the family, and community provide us with supernatural schoolmasters for a greater destiny than the illusions by which we live. The Christian hope is more precise and firmer. But look at the anonymity in the parable of the Good Samaritan. His mercy was for a man he didn't know. Perhaps when "one raises oneself to a degree of excellence he participates in divine being — a little impersonal, anonymous" (Simone de Weil). The Christian seeks to be catholic, universal in his hopes and charities. Sometimes this wide outlook eludes us. For me, I have had only glimpses of the ultimates — beauty, truth, and goodness — and the divinity for me may be the courage and compassion and sacrifice of others on which I rely in old age, as in youth.

POSTSCRIPT

These memoirs were taped eleven years ago. Now, in my 86th year, I wish to record my sense of gratitude for the happy, though inactive years I've had since. Returning from the fiftieth anniversary of the 1918 Armistic of World War I, where I represented the Royal Canadian Regiment C.E.F., I visited Winnipeg, and had lunch with Miss Thelma Thomson. We had met first in 1924 as employees of the C.N.R. at 17-19 Cockspur St., London, where Thelma was an assistant to Miss Mabel Durham in the Women's Branch. In the thirties, my late wife and I enjoyed the hospitality of the Thomson family at 39 East Gate, Winnipeg. Her father, born in Orkney, had been Land and Fur Trade Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company and in retirement remained a member of its Canadian Committee; his career spanned a clerkship in the old Fort Garry H.B.C. headquarters in Winnipeg in the eighties to headship of the British Columbia fur district to Land and Fur Trade Commissioner of the H.B.C. in Canada under the Governor, Lord Strathcona, with the old rank of Chief Factor. Mr. James Thomson saw, as no other man of his time did, the whole panorama of the land settlement of Western Canada between the eighties and his death in 1933, and in that time most of the H.B.C. land was sold and settled. As an example of his involvement in the history of the West, it may be noted that as an H.B.C. officer in Calgary he held the money to pay the troops in the Riel Rebellion in 1885, being obliged to keep the funds under his pillow with a gun available.

Mrs. James Thomson was a Flett, who had come from Orkney to Western Canada as a bride in the eighties, and had her family's vitality, practicality, desire to excel, and interest in art and education. One brother, Sir John Flett, K.B.E., became a distinguished geologist, Director of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, another remained at home and was Provost of Kirkwall in Orkney during World War II when Scapa Flow was still a great naval base. It was characteristic of Mrs. Thomson that in Victoria, British Columbia, at the turn of this century, she was dissatisfied with the educational opportunities available for her family on Vancouver Island. She therefore took her son Eric and daughters Thelma and Inga briefly to Kirkwall, Orkney, and later to Edinburgh for schooling. One of Thelma's highschool teachers in Kirkwall was the late R.C. Wallace, later sometime Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, who married a fellow pupil and relative of the Thomson family. Eric Thomson graduated from Edinburgh University (M.A.), completed his legal training, winning

the Gold Medal at Osgoode Hall, was called to the bar of British Columbia in 1914, served in the C.E.F. in France in World War I, and practised law in British Columbia for over fifty-four years. Inga became the Librarian of the Winnipeg *Free Press* in the days of John W. Dafoe, as a national library trustee won national recogn[illegible]ion by the Canadian Library Association, and continued, long after retirement, her work for libraries, particularly her local library, which she helped to found — St. Vital Public Library in Winnipeg. She married Major Harold Moore, an Irishman, one of the gifted editorial staff of John W. Dafoe.

I abbreviate the story of 1968-9 by noting that Thelma and I were married on September 10, 1969 in the London Scottish Memorial Chapel, St. Columba's (Church of Scotland), Pont Street, London, by the Reverend Bruce McNichol. Our host, who gave the bride away, was her cousin, son of Sir John Flett. He was now Sir Martin Flett, K.C.B., Under-Secretary of State for Defence, an elder of St. Columba's, but he found time to instruct me in the procedures needed in letters by hand, wrote out all the invitations, shepherded me through the necessary prior appearances at Sunday worship in St. Columba's, and finally had the Flett family provide the champagne for the wedding.

Lady Flett (daughter of the late Sir Alec Martin, for some years Chairman of Christie's, the great London auction house) took me on a round of business calls for the occasion, and her hospitality helped me to adjust to the Flett clan and their Orcadian lifestyle. Inga's step-daughter in London, Kay Gimpel, and her husband Charles Gimpel made their home in Stanhope Gardens available to us, and we returned to it after the wedding reception in Campden Hill Road at Lady Flett's.

I was supported at the wedding as best man by my nephew, Rodney England, an ear, nose, and throat specialist. He and his wife, Stella, showered kindness on us and drove us to the airport for the trip to Dublin. In Ireland, my family in Dublin, Portadown, and Belfast welcomed Thelma with warmth and overwhelming hospitality. The I.R.A. violence had just begun, but Ulster still was peaceful enough for my niece and her husband (Gladys and Fred Jeffery, who had met Thelma in Canada) to assemble at night in their home, the members of my family for an unforgettable party.

The photographic record of our wedding, which we cherish most, was made by the late Charles Gimpel. He was co-founder of Gimpel Fils (London, Zurich, and New York), the well-known contemporary art specialists, a friend of the late Sir Herbert Read and many famous artists and sculptors, and an early connoisseur of Eskimo art. His uncle was Lord Duveen, the great art dealer, donor of many pictures to the National and Tate galleries and of the gallery that houses the Elgin marbles to the British

Museum. Charles Gimpel was known as one of the best amateur photographers in Europe. His album of pictures of our wedding reveals something of what must have been not so much talent as genius. The approach fits the seventy-two-year old participants in a nineteenth-century pattern, the photographs are black and white, starting with a beautiful glimpse of the chapel altar and cross, then the guests on each side, the processions, the officiating clergyman, the pillars of St. Columba's, each guest caught at his or her best, the reception, the cutting of the cake, and the departure of the bride and groom — all without captions arranged as a narrative of the event and enlivened by old-fashioned stars and hearts on the going away pictures.

Thus, a devotee of modern art, allergic to representational art, used a traditional manner for our record, indicating an unexpected empathy and human insight to guide and group his selection. Great art and achievement, it has been noted, in the design of a bridge, a plane, or a picture, is a balance between the peril of collapse and stable forces kinetically held in place — the flowing lines give a sense of fitness, power, function. Does this apply to the human mind? Man, in creative urges, knows tension. Charles Gimpel as a prisoner of the Gestapo knew dark hours in which courage and comrades were vital and out of this came a keen sensitivity. Two septuagenarians, getting married, might be seen as either poignant or preposterous; he saw the occasion in his picture as one marked by dignity, happiness, and splendid hope. As to the fulfilment of that hope — "my cup runneth over."

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CURRICULUM VITAE: ROBERT ENGLAND

Born Portadown, Ireland, Sept. 15, 1894, son of David and Elizabeth England.

Education: Pupil-teacher, National School, private tuition for matriculation, universities of Durham and Queen's (Belfast); farm work in Saskatchewan; B.A. Queen's University (Canada) 1921; Masonic War Memorial Scholarship at Normal School, Saskatoon (first class and highschool teacher's certificate) 1921-2; Saskatchewan Government Paris Scholarship 1923-4, Certificat d'Etudes Sociales of Collège Libre de Sciences Sociales, Paris; M.A. (Queen's) 1934, thesis, "The Colonization of Western Canada"

Military service, 1915-19 — Sask. Rifles, Lieut. Jan. 6, 1916, 203rd Batt. C.E.F., the Royal Canadian Regiment in France 1916-18, went over top, Vimy Ridge, Hill 70, and Cambrai; seriously wounded twice: awarded Military Cross at Cambrai; served as Scout and Bombing Officer

Employment: Slawa Rural School (near Hafford, Sask.) 1920-3. School subject of articles in farm journals and documentary film by Saskatchewan government. Continental Superintendent, Colonization Dept., Canadian National Railways, London (Eng.) 1924-9; Western Manager, Dept. of Colonization and Agriculture, C.N.R., Winnipeg, 1930-6; Director of Extension and Associate Professor of Economics, University of B.C. 1936-7; Economic Adviser, Winnipeg Electric Company 1937-9. First Director of Educational Services, Can. Legion Educational Services, London (Eng.) 1940; Executive Secretary, General Advisory Committee on Demobilization & Rehabilitation, Government of Canada, Ottawa 1940-3; Special Assistant, Dept. of National War Services, charged with reorganization of Nationalities Branch into Citizenship Branch 1944; Special Executive Assistant, Dept. of Veterans' Affairs, organization of Re-Establishment Credit facilities 1944-5; Chairman, Committee on University Requirements (D.V.A.) 1945-5. Contributor, weekly column, Winnipeg *Free Press*, on Veterans' problems 1945-7. Guggenheim Foundation Fellow 1945-6. Advisory Editor, *Encyclopedia Americana* 1951-75.

Community activities: President, Winnipeg Canadian Club, 1933; associated with organization of Community Progress Competitions in non-English districts of Western Canada (1930-3); member of boards of Community Chest, Family Bureau, Industrial Development in Winnipeg: with Dr. D.A. Stewart and Dr. Andrew Moore organized Manitoba Adult Education Association in 1934. Assisted the La Vérendrye Monument organization 1937. Director, "Ventures in Citizenship" program on Canadian Broadcasting Corporation from Winnipeg 1938. Assisted Dr. Tory in organization of Can. Citizenship Council 1941; Chairman of Committee on drafting plan for Educational Services in Armed Forces, Winnipeg 1939. Vice-Pres. Manitoba Prov. Council of Boy Scout Association, Winnipeg 1938. Chairman, Committee on Broadcasting in Schools, Vancouver 1937-8. Vice-Pres. Canadian Association for Adult Education 1937, member Le Cercle Ouvrier St. Joseph, St. Boniface 1938-9, member Comox Public Library Board 1954. Life Fellow Royal Economic Society; Hon. LL.D. (University of Manitoba) 1948; Canadian Legion Certificate of Merit 1947; Silver Acorn, Boy Scout Association 1940; Coronation Medal 1937; University of British Columbia testimonial of service to adult education 1961.

Married (1) Amy Marion Hale, daughter of Henry E. and Emma Hale, Hounsdown, Hampshire, England, 1919 (charge sister Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service [T.F.] 1914-19, mentioned in despatches), d. 1966. (2) Thelma Thomson (M.A., 1913, Edinburgh), daughter of James Thomson (1859-1933), Winnipeg, sometime Chief Factor, Land and Fur Trade Commissioner, and member of Canadian Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Helen Thomson (née Flett), in London Scottish Memorial Chapel, St. Columba's, London, England (1969)

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(e) London Gazette: Record of war service including citation, Military Cross Award Mar. 21, 1919:

"Lt. Robert England, R.C.R. (Regina). For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty during the operations near Cambrai from September 27 to October 1, 1918. During the night prior to the attack he reconnoitred a village, and later returned with a party and mopped up enemy posts. During the operations as scout officer he kept the battalion commander accurately informed of the situation, being wounded in obtaining information."

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Winnipeg *Free Press*, Dec. 21, 1939

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Presentation of Robert England, M.C., M.A., for the degree of Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa), University of Manitoba.

Mr. Chancellor,

Robert England was born in Ireland but has spent most of his life in Western Canada. He is now an improved Irishman.

In World War I he served three years in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, was twice wounded, and was awarded the Military Cross.

In 1923, after his Normal School training, he received a Saskatchewan government scholarship to study in Paris. He is now bilingual.

He taught three years in a Ukrainian district where he was largely instrumental in raising it to a model rural community. He has written two books about colonization in Western Canada.

His record in Winnipeg is well known. I shall omit details.

He left Winnipeg in 1937 to become Director of Extension and Associate Professor of Economics at the University of British Columbia, but before long he was back in Winnipeg as Economic Adviser to the Winnipeg Electric Company.

Immediately on the outbreak of World War II he offered his services in any capacity and in the Fall of 1939 he was appointed Overseas Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services.

A year later he returned to Canada to become Executive Secretary of the Interdepartmental Committee on Rehabilitation, which was composed of a number of Dominion Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers, representatives of the Armed Forces, the Auxiliary Services, the Universities, and other civilian interests. I can say for the particular information of the ex-service personnel present here today that it is due to Robert England more than to any other single individual that the foundation was well and truly laid for what I am told is the best World War II civil re-establishment system in existence. He described its genesis and early development in his book entitled *Discharged*.

From 1944 to 1946 he served as Special Assistant in the Department of National War Services and as Executive Assistant in the Department of Veterans' Affairs. During 1946 as Chairman of the Committee on University Requirements he visited Canadian universities to work out the application of the D.V.A. grants in aid of veteran students.

He is now devoting himself to literary pursuits. However, to be sure not to be idle he has since 1946, as a Guggenheim Foundation Fellow, completed a study of veterans' problems in North America. His report thereon is now in press.

He is a Master of Arts from Queen's University, Kingston, having specialized in Economics.

From this recital of accomplishments, which has been greatly curtailed due to the brevity of my time allotment, it is evident that a distinguishing characteristic of the distinguished career of Robert England has been the ever present and unstinted application of his great talents to community service above and beyond the immediate demands of his vocational duties.

Mr. Chancellor, I have therefore the honour to present Robert England and to request on behalf of the Senate that you confer upon him the Degree of Doctor of Laws, Honoris Causa.

Winnipeg
May 19, 1948

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